Daily Report

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BSP Supreme Council Meets; Presidium Confirmed

AU2509203590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] On 25 September, the first meeting of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] took place. The meeting was chaired by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council. The following composition of the BSP Supreme Council Presidium was confirmed:

Aleksandur Lilov—chairman;
Aleksandur Tomov, Chavdar Kyuranov, and Dimitur Yonchev—deputy chairmen;
Blagoy (?Dechev) and Minko (?Nedyalkov)—members of the Secretariat;
Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Georgi Bliznakov, Ivan Stanev, Svetlin Rusev, Filip Bokov, and Ivan Dinkov—members.

The BSP Supreme Council proposes to the ideological currents within the BSP to appoint one of their members, elected in the BSP Supreme Council, to the BSP Presidium. It was also proposed to the leaders of the ideological currents to participate in the sessions and work of the BSP Supreme Council.

The BSP Supreme Council decided to establish working groups of experts on the basic issues of party work. Their membership must be reviewed and approved at the council's next session.

151 of 182 Elected to Council

AU2509171590 Sofia BTA in English 1645 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Sep (BTA)—The 151 members of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council were elected out of 182 candidates.

A vast majority of the new members of the Supreme Council are about 40 years old; they are people of the BSP apparatus in the provinces or medium-level economic managers who have been absolutely unknown up to now. There are some writers among the more popular names: Valeri Petrov, Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Stanislav Stratiev, Georgi Konstantinov, Borislav Gerontiev, Ivan Dinkov; the members of the present government Georgi Pirinski, Pencho Penchev and Yordan Mutafchiev, the former BSP leaders Filip Bokov, Dimitur Yonchev and Chavdar Kyuranov, the eurythmics coach Neshka Robeva, the artists Svetlin Rusev, the composer Aleksandur Yosifov, the journalists Ventsel Raychev, Georgi Tambuev and Kosta Andreev, the film director Lyudmil Staykov and the historian Ilcho Dimitrov were also elected members of the BSP Supreme Council.

The deputy chairman of the new government Belcho Belchev and Nora Ananieva, the minister of foreign affairs Lyuben Gotsev, the minister of trade and services Valeri Tsekov, the minister of agriculture and the food industry Todor Pandev and the chairman of the Grand National Assembly Nikolay Todorov were not elected members of the Supreme Council.

Council Voting, Omissions Viewed

AU2509143490 Sofia BTA in English 1341 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 25 Sep (BTA)—Obviously surprised by the results of the elections for Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the re-elected leader of the Socialists, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, said in his closing speech today that none of the leaders of the ideological platforms and trends was elected member of the BSP Supreme Council. Accidentally or not, he missed to mention the name of Aleksandur Tomov, leader of the reform-minded [Movement for] Democratic Socialism (Demos) trend in the list of the newly elected 151 members of the Supreme Council.

From the five candidates Mr. Lilov nominated yesterday, only two were elected by the congress: Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, who ranked 91 in the list by the number of votes he polled (Lilov himself ranked 31), and Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov, former BSP candidate for president of the country.

Although their poll was more than half of the vote, the leader of the Road to Europe Platform, Prof. Petur-Emil Mitev, who was nominated by Mr. Lilov and Prof. Asen Zhablenski, president of the Medical Academy, dropped out of the list of BSP Supreme Council members. Reformer Dragomir Draganov also polled more than half of the vote, but this was not enough to elect him a member of the Supreme Council.

The leader of the Alternative Socialist Association faction (ASA) [ASO], Mr. Valentin Vatsev, failed to poll enough votes; the case with Mr. Valeri Tsekov of the same faction, who is minister of trade in the present government, is the same. This is the cost the ASA paid for their bold decision to participate in the parliamentary elections in June with a list of their own—something for which the faction was sharply criticized at the congress.

On the other hand the leader of the "superhardliners," the conservatives of the Marxist Alternative platform, Prof. Mitryu Yankov, did not enter the leadership of the BSP, too: He polled 633 and 637 against.

The congress removed a great part of the "old guard" in the former BSP leadership.: Former President Petur Mladenov and former minister of defence Dobri Dzhurov (who came last in the list with a poll of 590 and 680 against) were not elected, despite Mr. Lilov's appeal that they should remain in the party leadership to preserve the succession of generations. Mr. Belcho Belchev, who has been minister of finance for long years, and Ms. Nora Ananieva, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, were not elected, too. Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs, also dropped out.

The absence of the eminent writer Yordan Radichkov from the leadership, for whom "every party would pay in pure gold," as Mr. Lilov put it yesterday, is a great surprise.

The votes polled by Yuri Borisov, leader of the Youth Socialist League, who ranked 14th in the list of those elected with 1,152 "for" and 118 "against," shows the great hopes the BSP sets on this league.

Maybe the fact that the unknown candidate Tikhomir Tomov ranked first in the list of elected members of the BSP Supreme Council with a poll of 1,182 (88 votes against) is symbolic.

"What should have happened long ago, happened actually now. The generation of the 40-year-olds took over the leadership of the party," a delegate from the country told a BTA reporter, commenting on the election results. In his opinion "at least 70 percent" of the members of the Supreme Council are new people.

Is it the "conservatives" or the "centrists" who won finally a victory at the 39th Congress of the BSP? It seems that despite the high percentage of the intelligentsia among the delegates to the congress, in the final reckoning the reluctance of the majority prevailed, not giving way to the radicals—"the white crows"—in the leadership of the party, whose main characteristic has been that of "monolithic unity" of the Bolshevist type for so many years.

Support for Zhelev Peace Measures

AU2509210090 Sofia BTA in English 1946 GMT 25 Sep 90

["BSP Supreme Council Supports President"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 25 Sep (BTA)—At its first session, the newly elected Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) shared the opinion expressed at the meeting the president of the Republic had with the members of the National Security Council, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the leaders of the political parties concerning the increasing political confrontation and the growing social tension in the country. The BSP Supreme Council absolutely supports the measures agreed by the participants in the meeting and approved by the president which are aimed at ensuring normal conditions for the development of the democratic processes and transformations in Bulgaria. It is proposed that the BSP bodies, basic party organizations and all members and followers of the BSP should actively contribute, through the application of these measures, to the preservation of the peaceful character of Bulgaria's transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

Importance of 39th BSP Congress Assessed

AU2509151590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] We return to our roots, to our family and class memory. The 39th Congress—this is more than the rehabilitation of the truth about the incessant development of the socialist idea on Bulgarian soil and more than a refusal to create multiple histories for a 100-year old party. This is our renewed merging with the world socialist movement, with the movement for peace, freedom, democracy, justice, solidarity, and prosperity.

Our party will not appear at its congress as a frail old lady that we all are trying to make more beautiful through plastic surgery and various biological stimuli. It will appear reborn—young and vital—as a party that has left the dungeon and darkness of totalitarianism and reached the light of day. Therefore we do not call it renewed, but rather a new party, a new leftist party of democratic socialism, which becomes the vital part of the cardiovascular system of the progressive world and European leftist forces. The congress must approve this change with the awareness that the fate of the party and Bulgaria depend on it. This is so because the party in question is a ruling party that enjoys parliamentary majority. Thus the first issue that the delegates probably will pose at the congress, will be to urge the party to assume its role as a ruling party, discontinue its abdication from power, put an end to lawlessness, and eliminate the specters of political chaos and economic ruin.

The precongressional discussion was stormy but fruitful. More than 100,000 proposals to improve the party draft platform were submitted at more than 10,200 meetings and conferences, in writing, and in the press. Various opinions were expressed, but one became the dominant theme and rose above everything else: There should not be any split! No self-dissolution! The party can be a mass and powerful political force even if it has different ideological currents, platforms, and associations, if they demonstrate a spirit of cooperation and solidarity, rather than intolerance and hostility. Precisely as it already is impossible to develop without ideological pluralism, it also is impossible to defend our positions in society without political and organizational unity. However, party unity is not an indulgence for a criminal past. It is obvious that compromised and corrupted persons of the totalitarian past have no place in our ranks. At the same time we cannot allow the persecution of innocent and unblemished people, to conduct a "witch hunt," and accuse the entire party. Fanning the so-called collective guilt is one of the most used means of the oppression called the "velvet revolution."

The congress of the reformers, as it justifiably was called by many, received the mandate to address the issue of our relations with other political forces, and first of all the Union of Democratic forces [SDS]. The present complex relations with the political opposition may

prove fatal both for democracy and Bulgaria. However, the visible attempts of the rightist opposition forces to eliminate the BSP from the national political stage, are even more fatal. Such attempts undoubtedly are doomed. Simultaneously, the BSP will seek a new agreement on eliminating the political tension with those forces in the SDS and outside it, which really are for democracy and civic peace.

As a ruling party, at its congress the BSP must answer why many of its election promises remained unfulfilled. The people are concerned with the shortage of foodstuffs and fuels, and they would like to know whether credit agreements for their import will be signed, and whether conditions of normal human life will be restored.

Without a reassuring answer to those questions on the part of our single-party government, all its economic reform programs lose their significance.

The party of the Bulgarian Socialists, which achieved a unique election victory in Eastern Europe, is called upon to prove that it can lead Bulgaria to a safe harbor.

Petrov on Army's Role in Transition to Democracy

AU2509151390 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 22 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Lyuben Petrov, first deputy commander of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, by Tsvyatko Belenski; place and date not given: "The Army We Need"]

[Text] [Belenski] How is it possible to turn the Bulgarian Army into one of the guarantors of the peaceful transition toward a democratic and rule-of-law state and reliable defender of Bulgaria's territorial integrity?

[Petrov] This can happen if the Army remains united and cohesive. Therefore, the efforts of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and the commands of the various military branches aim at constructing a modern, combat-capable and nonparty Army with high combat and patriotic spirit, able to guarantee national independence and territorial integrity of the country.

The fact that many political forces now are trying to assert their influence in the Army evokes concern. Such an influence diverts the Bulgarian People's Army from implementing its basic tasks, creates tension among the military collectives, and leads toward decreasing the combat ability and readiness of the troops.

Our basic attention is directed toward intensifying the work related to improving the national and patriotic feeling of the soldiers. The decisions of the Grand National Assembly, the president, and the government on asserting the Bulgarian People's Army as a stabilizing factor and guarantor of the peaceful transition toward democracy, are the main factor.

[Belenski] Have there been any organizational-structural changes and what are you doing to improve the quality of the combat readiness and discipline?

[Petrov] Until recently the country's defensive ability used to be strengthened by increasing the quantity of armed forces and weapons. However, today the tendency to improve the Army's qualitative elements is asserting itself. This is a logical consequence of the scientific-technical revolution and it leads to reducing the Army's personnel and weapons.

Significant changes took place in the Army's quantitative and qualitative composition. This process continues. The recent significant renewal of the basic leading personnel of the Ministry of National Defense and the military branches could serve as an example.

In 1989 the military budget decreased 12 percent, and this primarily affected the expenditures for maintaining the Army and the supply of new weapons and equipment. Ever more determined steps are made along the road of practically implementing the conversion. The Grand National Assembly adopted a draft law on shortening military service from 24 to 18 months, and for students—to 12 months. This was greeted with great satisfaction by the personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army. Serious changes were conducted in the Army's organizational structure, and some branches, (such as the amphibious troops and others), were abolished. Bringing our Army's organizational structure into accord the principle of reasonable sufficiency is a basic trend in constructing and developing the Bulgarian People's Army.

The role of the commander as a basic factor in increasing combat readiness and strengthening discipline, is a new element. Now he is a leading figure in implementing the process of Army's democratization and enjoys the assistance and support of the collective democratic organs in the military collectives, such as the military councils, the staffs, the educational work organs, the officers' associations, and so forth.

[Belenski] Do you have problems in creating the intellectual- moral atmosphere in the military collectives?

[Petrov] The main problem is related to overcoming the bias in the analysis and evaluation of the political phenomena. The commanders and deputy commanders in charge of educational work cope with this problem. Under conditions of the multiparty system that was created in our country, it is impossible to impose or propagate the ideology of any party. The issues related to the country's national security and defense have priority. This is especially topical and imperative when new recruits are entering the Bulgarian People's Army. These youth are to a large degree politically-minded, incapable of a sufficiently clear analysis of the military duty or the necessity of strict order and discipline. Now it is fully possible that the problems of the military collectives acquire political connotations. Concealed conflicts with the commanders on a political basis also are possible.

Therefore, a plan-program on adapting the young soldiers to military service was worked out with the assistance of the commanders and educational work organs. The issues of the patriotic and combat education and building up love, loyalty, and devotion to the Bulgarian people and their national traditions and military virtues now are the core of the system of social studies training.

Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With FRG

AU2509191090 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Plovdiv, 25 Sep (BTA)—Bulgaria's trade partners are still interested in maintaining contacts with her, although they are well aware of the economic situation in the country. Today, at the International Fair in Plovdiv, Mr. Klaus Beckmann, state secretary of the Federal Ministry of Economy of the FRG who signed the protocol on the 13th session of the Joint Bulgaro-German Committee for Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation, stated the position of his country. Asked what the decade-long patient presence of the FRG at the Plovdiv Fair was due to, he answered, "we are interested in solid economic relations with your country. It is not so important whether Bulgaria has money now. For us the important thing is long-term cooperation".

The protocol envisages cooperation in agriculture, the food and the light industry, tourism, ecology, the transport infrastructure. The representatives of the Federal Republic pointed out that stable economic and political conditions should be ensured to attract successful investments in Bulgaria.

The journalists' interest today was roused by the transaction concluded between the American Microdisplay System and the Bulgarian software products and systems for the production of controllers for black-and-white and color displays in Bulgaria amounting to five million dollars per year.

The same Bulgarian firm today signed yet another agreement on the establishment of a joint venture for software products and systems with Olivetti, Italy. But the fulfillment of the agreement requires the privatization of the Bulgarian firm.

Judging by the number of visitors, Pavilion 26 seems to be the most interesting in the premises of the fair. There the Italian companies are exhibiting household appliances which can be purchased by paying either in dollars or in Bulgarian leva. There are wonderful refrigerators (in shortage in this country) sold at a price of 9,000 leva, color TV sets 15,000 leva, children's bicycles 1,000 to 4,000 leva, Aprilia motorcycles 70 to 100 thousand leva. Naturally, most of the visitors, whose average monthly pay is no more than 240 leva per month, are shocked by the prices. But it is yet to find out whether they are not the result of a well-researched market conjuncture.

Greek Commerce Minister on Trade Relations

AU2609105790 Sofia BTA in English 0931 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Sep (BTA)—"If our companies are hesitant about Bulgaria, it is due to their expectation that the Bulgarian parliament should pass new legislation on the key areas of the Bulgarian economy," says Mr. Athanasios Xarkhas, Greece's minister of commerce, in an interview for "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK." Mr. Xarkhas is visiting Bulgaria for the autumn technological fair in Plovdiv.

Over the last few years, two-way trade between Bulgaria and Greece has been exceeding 200 million dollars annually. Last year saw the highest level of commercial exchanges: 221,598,000 dollars. Bulgaria exports to Greece goods worth a total of 175,639,000 dollars, and Bulgarian imports from Greece are valued at 45,959,000 dollars. In the first six months of this year the two countries exchanged goods and services worth 59,597,000 dollars (excluding the two-way petrochemical deliveries). In this period, too, Bulgaria has a trade surplus with Greece.

Troops Expected To Be Ready for Gulf in 2 Weeks

AU2509125290 Paris AFP in English 1238 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Prague, Sept 25 (AFP)—A 170-man Czechoslovak Army unit will be ready within two weeks to join the multinational forces in Saudi Arabia, a country with which Prague does not have diplomatic relations, a spokesman said Tuesday.

Michael Zantovsky, spokesman for President Vaclav Havel, said talks were under way using the good offices of a third country that he declined to name. The mission of the unit, made up of volunteers from various parts of the armed forces, has been described here as "purely defensive and humanitarian." The troops will be backed by 4[illegible] all-purpose vehicles, 10 trailers and 200 tons of other equipment.

Mr. Zantovsky said "the current talks should permit the opening of diplomatic relations."

Between 50 and 70 Czechoslovakians are still in Iraq after a group of 75 were repatriated on Saturday.

Gulf Aid To Be 'Entirely Defensive'

LD2409154890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Deputy Federal Foreign Minister Lubos Dobrovsky provided details of the possible participation of Czechoslovak military specialists in the international force against Iraq, as announced by the president of the Republic, Vaclav Havel, on the island of Capri last Saturday.

He said that if need be, and if we were asked, then our country would be ready and able to help Saudi Arabia. If Saudi Arabia were threatened by the use of chemical warfare, Czechoslovakia would send a unit of chemical weapons defense specialists together with their equipment. The unit would be complemented by doctors and auxiliary staff capable of giving first aid should chemical weapons be used. The whole group would comprise about 200 men.

Answering a question on whether this step might worsen the situation of Czechoslovak citizens in Iraq, Lubos Dobrovsky stated that their situation was made difficult by the aggressive, inhuman policy of Saddam Husayn, and not by the activities of the Czechoslovak Government.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs is convinced that the character of the possible Czechoslovak aid is entirely defensive and humanitarian, and that it cannot in any way worsen the situation of those Czechoslovak citizens in Iraq who were refused exit visas by the authorities.

Lubos Dobrovsky stressed that if the Czechoslovak specialists were sent out, then their participation should be understood as Czechoslovakia's joining the international military forces deployed in the Persian Gulf.

Talks Held on Military Contingent to Saudi Arabia

LD2509134490 Prague CTK in English 1203 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—A possible visit to Czechoslovakia in November this year of U.S. President George Bush is being considered but no side has thus far officially confirmed it, the Czechoslovak president's Press Secretary Michael Zantovsky told journalists here today.

He paid great attention to President Vaclav Havel's visit to Italy on September 22-24. According to Zantovsky, the president assesses his talks with top Italian representatives positively. The Italian side voiced certain apprehension that assistance for East European countries from the European Community may be largely complicated by the Gulf developments, and one top-ranking Italian official described the situation as very serious and went as far as saying that a conflict may be unavoidable, Zantovsky said.

According to him, Czechoslovakia and Italy view the Pentagonal (a grouping of Czechoslovakia, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia) as a concrete platform for cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres.

Michael Zantovsky said that the "Orfei Affair" was not taken up at official talks in Italy and that the Italian press did not show any interest in it. "We think that the case has no longer been a topical one," he added, but admitted that a member of the Czechoslovak delegation, Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml, could discuss the case in his separate talks with Italian partners.

The name "Orfei Affair"was given in the summer to alleged cooperation of Italian political scientist Ruggero Orfei and other Italian officials in the past years with Czechoslovak intelligence services. The way in which information on the Italian officials' activity got from Czechoslovakia to Italy has not yet been clarified.

Vaclav Havel's meeting with Pope John Paul II was characterized by the president, according to Mr. Zantovsky, rather as a meeting of friends of a long-standing than an official reception.

Michael Zantovsky told journalists that Czechoslovak-Saudi talks on possible sending of a Czechoslovak military contingent to Saudi Arabia are now under way. The talks are conducted through mediators since the two countries do not maintain diplomatic ties.

In this connection, Zantovsky said that the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry trains Czechoslovak military volunteers, including both career soldiers and civilian employees of the ministry, and also soldiers undergoing military service. The training will continue for another 10 to 14 days. "By then—if Saudi Arabia is still really interested—diplomatic talks should also be completed. One of the positive by-products of the talks should be establishment of diplomatic relations," Michael Zantovsky said. The sending of a contingent of 200 men

to Saudi Arabia was mentioned by President Vaclav Havel during his visit to Italy.

Referring to supplies of Czechoslovak weapons to the Middle East, Zantovsky said "according to my information, no weapons are now being dispatched to the Middle East."

The press secretary told journalists that President Havel will take part in joint deliberations of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Governments in Kromeriz, South Moravia, on September 27 which will be devoted to the division of powers between the three governments.

On September 27, the president will leave for New York to take part in the world summit for children. Expected on this occasion are meetings with some statesmen also taking part in the event, including Havel-Bush talks.

On October 1, Vaclav Havel will return to Czechoslovakia. Later in the day, he will receive Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello, due to visit Czechoslovakia on October 1-2.

Soviet Troop Presence in Nove Zamky Ends

LD2509153190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Summary] The stationing of Soviet troops in Nove Zamky is ending today with the handing over of the Chapayev barracks to the municipal authorities. The remaining Soviet troops will stay in the Juraj Dozsa barracks for another two weeks. Such is the rapid course of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which were deployed in the West Slovak region within the framework of the Irkutsk-Pinsk division. They will not be replaced by Czechoslovak Army units and it is therefore the town's intention to reconstruct the military buildings speedily for civilian purposes. Town authorities have, however, a big worry with taking over apartments vacated by Soviet troops. Out of 92 apartment units vacated, the majority have been damaged and moreover some of them have been looted by local people.

Dubrovsky Remarks on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2509220390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague journalists met Deputy Minister Lubos Dobrovsky, employees of the ministry, and other guests. Editor Vladimir Vjercak reports:

[Vjercak] [passage omitted] Interesting data about the progress of Soviet troop withdrawal were provided by Major General Nadovic: On 24 September 40,400 soldiers were withdrawn, i.e. 55 percent; 880 tanks, i.e. 72 percent; almost all the air defense equipment; and 57,882 tonnes of ammunition, i.e., more than half the quantity stored on our territory.

According to Gen. Nadovic, the withdrawal is carried out quicker than planned and before the end of 1990 not even one combat division or regiment of helicopters will be in Czechoslovakia.

Regarding our military presence in Saudi Arabia, Lubos Dobrovsky said that so far we had not been officially asked for it. There are also legislative and diplomatic obstacles. Nevertheless, a small unit of experts in antichemical warfare is being prepared.

Regarding some prospects of our foreign policy, the deputy minister said it concentrated, for instance, on the non-European Mediterranean countries, with the intention to support the spreading of the ideas of the Helsinki process.

Officer Investigated for Reporting Asylum-Seeker

AU2409081890

[Editorial report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 14 September on page 7, under the title "Ruined Asylum," publishes a 300-word interview with Major Igor Ivanov, LL.D., director of the Federal Ministry of Interior Inspection. The interviewer is not identified and the place and date of the interview are not given. The interview relates to the case of the Soviet soldier Maslyaev, who recently applied for political asylum in the CSFR but was turned over to the Soviet authorities by a Czechoslovak official. In the interview, Ivanov states that the fact that Maslyaev has now denied that he had applied for asylum in the CSFR will not influence the investigation of the official who handed Maslyaev back to the Soviets for negligence. According to Ivanov, the records clearly show that the Office of the President proceeded correctly in the case when it informed the operations officer of the Federal Ministry of Interior. Had the officer followed the legal norms, Ivanov says, everything would be in order, and the Federal Government would decided on the application. Asked about the possible penalty for the officer, Ivanov speaks of up to a year's imprisonment for negligence. He concludes with a personal comment that he is very upset because "under no circumstances should he [Maslyaev] have been put in a preliminary detention cell like a common thief."

VPN Statement on Postponed Trip to USSR

LD2109125590 Prague CTK in English 1202 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 21 (CTK)—The decision of the Council of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre to postpone the visit to the Soviet Union planned for September 24 at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee is politically not ideal, said a statement of the Public Against Violence coordinating centre handed over to CTK today.

The Public Against Violence [VPN] respects the decision of the Council of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre

but is of the opinion that representatives of the two movements should pay the visit to the Soviet Union together. It voices the opinion that it will be realized as soon as possible.

Under the influence of the policy of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, the situation in the Soviet Union has changed. In view of the changes in the political climate in the country the Public Against Violence considers it necessary to establish working contacts with all parties and movements in Central and East Europe which strive for democratic changes. The future of Europe is mutually conditioned and requires understanding and a permanent contact between political forces, the statement said.

Paper Details Foreign Arms Contracts, Profits

LD2409100490 Prague CTK in English 0939 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia continues to sell weapons abroad while a discord exists between antimilitarist members of the Czechoslovak Government and pragmatic-minded economists and businessmen who view the exports as a purely trade matter, the latest issue of the independent fortnightly STUDENTSKE LISTY has written.

It noted that "in spite of the justified reservations about a lack of humanitarianism (of the sales), it is probably impossible to suddenly withdraw from multi-million contracts which de facto keep our not very strong economy above water." In the past years, the paper said, the Czechoslovak foreign trade corporation Omnipol, the country's monopoly weapons trader, accounted for up to 50 per cent of the foreign currency profit made by Czechoslovak foreign trade.

The fortnightly wrote that in the first six months of this year alone, Omnipol realized investment projects of the armament character in Libya, India, Algeria, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Burma, Afghanistan, Egypt and Pakistan which earned it 283 million crowns (1 U.S. dollar = 15 crowns) and two credits. The projects included, e.g., a plant making spare parts for tanks and infantry combat vehicles (Libya), supplies of components for tank building (India), an infantry ammunition producing plant (Ethiopia), a rolling-mill of nonferrous metals for ammunition production (Iran), an ammunition forge (Iraq), infantry combat vehicles simulators (Syria) and others. The biggest profits were made by Omnipol in Libya (116 million crowns) and India (109 million crowns).

One of the best marketable of Czechoslovak weapons is the L-39 plane. Though destined for pilots' training, it can be equipped with weapons and used as a fighter plane. Contracts on exports of tanks and infantry combat vehicles can be signed by Czechoslovakia only after consent from the USSR which owns a majority of production licences. Two months ago, Czechoslovakia signed a contract on the supply of 300 tanks (worth 300 million U.S. dollars) to Iran, STUDENTSKE LISTY said.

Economic Minister Dlouhy Pays Visit to Japan

Encourages Japanese Investments

AU2509182190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Sep 90 p 8

[CTK report: "Dlouhy—Aizawa"]

[Text] Yesterday, Vladimir Dlouhy, CSFR minister of the economy, who has been on a working visit to Japan since Monday [17 September], met in Tokyo with Hideyuki Aizawa, state minister and director general of the Economic Planning Agency. The discussion of the two representatives focused mostly on the possibility of the concrete assistance by Japanese companies to the Czechoslovak economy with the goal to develop the present very weak economic relations between the two countries.

According to the KYODO agency, Minister Dlouhy said at a meeting with Japanese journalists that foreign investments might become the engine of the future growth of the economy in the CSFR.

Meets With Ishikawa; Ends Visit

AU2509190090 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo Sep 23 (CTK)— Czechoslovak Minister of Economy Vladimir Dlouhy met with Chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce P. Ishikawa here today, the last day of his week-long working visit to Japan.

The Japanese official appreciated the changes carried out in the Czechoslovak economy and expressed interest of Japanese enterprises in the situation in Czechoslovakia.

All institutions associating Japanese industrial organizations show interest in cooperation and plan to send further study missions to Czechoslovakia. The two representatives agreed that the development of mutual relations at all levels can help Czechoslovakia transfer to the principles common in the world economy and Japanese firms extend their trade and production possibilities.

Dienstbier Addresses UN General Assembly

LD2609122690 Prague CTK in English 1049 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] New York Sept 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in the UN General Assembly last night that "Czechoslovak foreign policy is now independent and ready to bear its share of responsibility for the future of the international community."

He noted that the country had at first to normalize its relations with its neighbours. "We wish to partake in the integration processes in Europe and to contribute in an active manner toward formulating common human rights standards and a common European space in economy, law, environment, culture as well as security. We wish to become a full member of the Council of

Europe. We want to make a contribution to the institutionalization of the Helsinki process. We have put forward concrete proposals. We are offering Prague as the host city of a permanent CSCE Secretariat."

"Our interest in building up a united Europe determines also our stand on the unification of Germany. Czechoslovakia sees it as an act of implementation of the Germans' right to self-determination, a result of democratic development and a prerequisite for a definitive overcoming of the division of Europe and settlement of outstanding issues surviving from World War II," Dienstbier said.

The Czechoslovak minister appreciated the clear stance of the United Nations on the aggression against Kuwait and hoped that by this the organization was "coming back to its actual mission. Only with confrontation being over and done away with and with the East and the West engaging in genuine cooperation will the United Nations be able to exert more effective efforts in promoting global security, human rights, protection and improvement of the environment, in combatting drug abuse and terrorism and also in building up mechanisms of economic development and cooperation of the whole world community."

Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia does not regard Saddam Husayn's attack on Kuwait as a regional problem confined to the Middle East. "We consider it to be an attack on the fundamental rules of coexistence between nations and states. These rules are laid down also in the U.N. Charter. Once we have succeeded in reaching a point when we are beginning to speak the same language we should not let this chance slip out of our hands. Those who do not understand this, or do not want to, those who would attempt to make use of the situation to settle some current problem of their own jeopardize not only that chance and the international community but, ultimately, themselves as well," Dienstbier said.

He announced that from the beginning of next year Czechoslovakia is prepared to provide a military unit up to the strength of a battalion for UN peace-keeping operations at the request of the UN Security Council. "We are prepared to assist in the settlement of conflict situations as a mediator if we are requested to do so. It is our conviction that crises have to be settled solely on the basis of the UN Charter. Negotiations and striving for compromises is, in our opinion, the only possible way out for the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus and elsewhere. Removal of the stiff system of apartheid, too, does not rest in violence but in dialogue."

The minister stressed Czechoslovakia's support for endeavours aimed at achieving a general and complete nuclear-weapon-test ban and said it would take an active part in the conference on the Moscow treaty on the ban on nuclear tests in three environments in January 1991.

"We attach particular importance to the activities of the United Nations in the sphere of human rights," he continued and said that the Czechoslovak "endeavour to build up a state fully governed by the rule of law is inseparably linked with support for the rule of international law in interstate relations."

He noted that the United Nations is also certainly "the best suited forum for the formulation and assertion of common principles for preservation and improvement of the environment." He recalled that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel had proposed in his message to European Commission President Jacques Delors that the European Community set up a program with the countries of Central and East Europe for a continent-wide solution of environmental problems.

Dienstbier said that in the face of another oil shock ways have to be sought of activating cooperation within regions and reiterated his earlier proposal that the wealthiest states of the world set up a fund in the form of a dollar loan to the Soviet Union, administered by an international bank, which would be used to pay for supplies from Czechoslovak, Polish and Hungarian enterprises to the USSR. Enterprises in the countries concerned would be obliged to invest revenues thus obtained in their own modernization. He suggested that this could become a model which could be further elaborated and that all participants in development programs cooperate actively.

Dubcek Receives European Parliament Delegation

LD2509124290 Prague CTK in English 1129 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's interest in cooperation with the European Parliament will be further rising, Czechoslovak Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek said here today receiving a delegation of the European Parliament led by its president Kirsten Jensen, who arrived here for an official visit yesterday.

Dubcek stressed that the first-generation cooperation agreement concluded by Czechoslovakia and the European Community last May is one of the steps that should help pave the way towards Czechoslovakia's full-fledged participation in the Community.

He also told the guests that the Czechoslovak parliament should pass some 50 laws by the end of the year which will create further conditions for Czechoslovakia's entry into the European Community and European Parliament.

Kirsten Jensen was pleased with the reception of this first official delegation of the European Parliament in Czechoslovakia, and said that the parliament would like to welcome soon a delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament).

The parliament's second vice-president, Heinz Koehler, said that the time has come for relations between the Community and Czechoslovakia to be placed on firm

bases. The first step was the trade agreement approved by a decisive majority of votes by the European Parliament earlier this month.

Mr. Koehler believed that conditions for Czechoslovakia's becoming a regular member of the European Parliament will soon be fulfilled.

Havel on Future in Europe, Privatization

LD2309181590

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1215 GMT on 23 September broadcasts a 25-minute interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel as part of the regular "Conversations at Lany" program. The interviewer is Jiri Vejvoda, who recalls that this interview was not recorded in Lany but in Prague Castle on 21 September, since the president is already on an official visit to Italy.

Asked about his recent feverish activity in the European diplomatic sphere, Havel replies that by this very activity he is striving to provide future guarantees for Czechoslovakia. After getting rid of the totalitarian system, Czechoslovakia is now in a sort of vacuum and faces the task of finding somewhere to live, most probably somewhere in Europe. Czechoslovakia can only do this if it quickly joins the existing European structures. Thus his recent diplomatic activity is important in the long term, as it will influence Czechoslovakia's future position in Europe, its international connections, and the way in which it will join the European Communities. But it is also very important, Havel adds, in the short term since Czechoslovakia's economic situation is very grave at the moment. Oil and other raw material supplies from the Soviet Union are becoming less and less frequent, and we do not wish to support another totalitarian system by buying oil from Iraq. Also, trade with East Germany has come to an end. In short, Czechoslovakia's economic situation is not good, and that is why all the talks with the IMF, the EC, the European Council, or with individual more powerful and advanced European countries, are very important since they create a political scope for specific and quick agreements and contracts, profitable credits which can help our currency in becoming convertible, Havel says.

Havel then goes on to explain his experience, that if on the so-called highest political level one just hints at something, or mentions it in a general context, it has an immediate effect on creating conditions and preconditions for the more specific talks between ministers, firms, etc.

Asked about his speech at the Civic Forum Assembly, Havel reiterates what he said last Saturday. He points out that at present, Civic Forum is seeking to find its identity, and stresses that as the most important political force it must strengthen its leadership, have its own program, and must be disciplined. He calls for a firm leadership to carry out all the necessary steps more thoroughly, resolutely, and quickly. He then says that at this very moment he is an optimist, because next week he will take part in a meeting of the three governments, where the final version of the bill on the privatization of small businesses should be agreed before being submitted to parliament. This will be one really firm step which will finally set our economic reform on the move and something specific will happen.

Asked about his views on reprivatization, President Havel stresses that the law on restitution must be approved first before the reprivatization itself can be carried out, and continues that all this should happen very quickly. First, all property must be returned to the original owners where their right to it is lawfully recognized, and then the so-called "small privatization" will follow organically. Which enterprises should be involved in this is already known, he says.

Asked to express his views on the progress of rehabilitation, Havel agrees with the people involved that it is slow and says that one of the reasons for this situation is the shortage of honest judges. The whole legal system is in a way affected as well by the totalitarian system, and he expresses his feeling that despite this the whole thing could be speeded up. He thinks that the most tragic cases from the 1950's involving already old people, should be dealt with first and only then the most recent ones. He assures that he will deal with the situation and try to achieve its acceleration.

Answering Vejvoda's question about how he feels as a president now, when nothing moves ahead and people expect him as a sort of moral anchor to solve any possible problem, Havel states that his position is very complex and not easy at all. Although he does not want to misuse his powers and become a dictator, he still feels the need to use his influence and press things a bit. And according to Havel, to balance these two things is not easy. Sometimes he says something, and the result is a great fuss with far-reaching consequences, whereas at other times it is like banging one's head against the wall. He admits that he himself does not fully understand to what degree his words influence public matters.

Vejvoda asks President Havel whether during his visit to Italy he will ask Pope John Paul II to pray for the good and happy future of our country. Havel replies that if he asks him, then it will be for the return of unity, reason, energy, and peace of mind to our republic. He will also ask the pope to pray for us so that God will give us new drive and energy, linked with inner harmony.

World Bank Official on Nation's Credit Limit

AU2509210390 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 23 Sep 90

[Text] Washington Sep 23 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia can get $300 to 500 million from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) in the fiscal year 1990-1991, head of the World Bank's department for Europe, the Middle East, and Northern Africa Eugenio Lari has told CTK.

He said that sums granted to countries are not set beforehand. The World Bank plans to lend some $800 to 1,000 million to Poland, $400 million to Hungary and probably $300 to 500 million to Czechoslovakia. He said it will depend on how much Czechoslovakia will want to borrow and on the successfulness of the country's economic reform as well.

Jeszenszky, Meciar Discuss Bilateral Relations

AU2609114490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Viktoria Kmetova and Alena Melicharkova report: "G. Jeszenszky Visiting Slovak Republic Top Representatives; in the Interest of Settling Controversial Issues"]

[Text] Bratislava—The search for answers to controversial questions which have accumulated in Hungarian-Slovak relations brought about yesterday's official visit to Bratislava by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

The morning meeting of the head of Hungarian diplomacy with Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak National Council chairman, was marked by both parties' interest in a good-neighborly coexistence. In their conversation, the two politicians pointed out numerous prejudices bringing the situation to a head. According to the Slovak parliament chairman, a certain feeling of fear of a forced Hungarianization prevails in the Slovak Republic, stemming mostly from the historical reality. The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs asserted in this connection that no political party represented in the present Hungarian parliament has in its policy any demand to change the state borders. For this reason alone, the Hungarian side considers these fears to be unrealistic.

The discussion which followed between Geza Jeszenszky and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar was open to journalists only for the initial formalities. Immediately upon completion of the talks, NARODNA OBRODA asked the Slovak premier whether they had found common ground which would help deal with the controversial issues in the interest of an improvement in mutual relations?

V. Meciar: "We spoke about all the negative elements in our relations. We decided to take concrete steps. Like the Slovak side, the Hungarian side promised our historians access to Hungarian archives. We agreed to invite the Hungarian journalists to visit the cities and villages of southern Slovakia. Our side considers the question of the borders to be settled. The number of accumulated problems and political confusion, however, necessitates further talks. If we do not continue them, it will harm both countries."

That afternoon, Geza Jeszenszky met representatives of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], the Hungarian Independent Initiative, and also representatives of other political parties and movements in Slovakia.

The topic of conversation at the meeting with the representatives of the VPN was mostly the nationalities problem. The Hungarian guests were particularly interested in the language law. The VPN has an unequivocal standpoint regarding the law: It must guarantee a feeling of security to users of the Slovak language in the entire territory of Slovakia, it must be in accordance with all international norms, and it must not discriminate against ethnic minorities.

Concluding his visit, Geza Jeszenszky summarized the results of the talks in Slovakia. He announced that he had confirmed the repeated invitation by the Hungarian side to the representatives of Slovakia to visit the Republic of Hungary. According to him, the invitation was accepted by Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak National Council chairman, and by Premier Vladimir Meciar. Further, he said that many controversial questions arise also because of the distortion of information. He emphasized that the Hungarian press does not reflect the opinion of the Hungarian Government and that in their country no paper is "close to the government," while the government has no press organ of its own. Therefore, it is necessary that the press and politicians orientate themselves by the official steps and declarations of the Hungarian Government.

Disputes With Poland Continue on Border Traffic

AU2409213090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Sep 90 p 8

[CTK report: "From a Report on Federal Government Session"]

[Excerpt] At its session yesterday, the CSFR Government approved the draft law on technical standards and the draft of a new law on metrology. It also considered and approved the draft concept of the line to be followed by our country in the Pentagonal initiative and assigned to the relevant government members the task of implementing this draft. The Pentagonal, which associates Italy, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and the CSFR, creates scope for dynamic and economic cooperation.

Furthermore, the government discussed a report on the results of an inquiry into the implementation of the program of ecological investment projects this year, which was submitted by the minister of control. The inquiry revealed yet again the chronically recurring shortcomings in the activity of investors, designers, and contractors. An unfavorable situation prevails with respect to newly begun projects; one of the reasons preventing the commencement of ecological investment projects is the obligation (imposed on all investors) to deposit financial resources (with the bank before starting a project), in line with government decree No. 1 of 1990. The government decided to deal with the proposal to cancel this obligation for ecological projects simultaneously with the finalization of principles for financing ecological projects.

The government took note of a report on the results of talks with the Polish side on current problems of cooperation between the CSFR and the Polish Republic, including tourism and small cross-border traffic. As expected, the restoration of small cross-border traffic has proved to be the most complicated problem. The Czechoslovak side made this restoration conditional on the immediate objectification of the tourist exchange rate to a level of between 280 and 300 zlotys per koruna, on the understanding that this exchange rate will be continually adjusted on the basis of the development of supply and demand. The Polish side demanded the restoration of small-cross border traffic without any conditions, stressing the political and humanitarian aspect. The two sides finally agreed that the ministries of finance and the [central] banks of the two countries would agree by 30 September on a mechanism for carrying out the adjustment of the tourist exchange rate, with the Polish side making its consent to the adjustment of the exchange rate conditional on the simultaneous and complete elimination of restrictions on tourism between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Havel Awarded U.S. Democracy Prize

AU2509182290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Sep 90 p 4

[CTK report in the "From the Telex" column]

[Text] CSFR President Vaclav Havel and Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro have been awarded the Democracy Prize, bestowed annually by the U.S. National Foundation in Support of Democracy.

Italian Daily Interviews President Havel

AU2509191790 Prague CTK in English 1015 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Rome Sep 21 (CTK)—The need for acceleration of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia was stressed in an interview of President Vaclav Havel for the Italian daily LA REPUBBLICA in connection with his official visit to Italy which starts tomorrow. The interview is published under the title "Capitalism With Human Face."

People are starting to be impatient. There is certain skepticism and passivity. Free elections have been held, the borders are open, journalists can write without any restrictions. But only few or no changes have taken place in everyday life, the Czechoslovak president told the daily.

The resistance of the so-called old structures is stronger than expected. The problems which the country has to solve are more delicate and complicated than they seemed to be in the first moments of revolutionary euphoria. Czechoslovakia does not want to search for a "third way." "We all support a radical and quick economic reform as any golden mean is senseless.... We push through a market economy, we want a society open to all varieties of political opinions," Havel said.

He underlined that democracy is impossible without a broad political spectrum of all opinions and stressed he wants to avoid the creation of, e.g., two big parties and a third small one which would have in fact the country's fate in its hands.

Answering whether he is closer to Mikhail Gorbachev or Boris Yeltsin, the Czechoslovak president said that "what Gorbachev has done and is doing is very significant. Without Gorbachev we would not know Yeltsin. But there are certain moments when Gorbachev seems to be in trouble caused by unforeseen events in a process launched by himself."

Prague To Be Seat of New East-West Association

AU2509074990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Sep 90 p 8

[CTK report: "East-West Bridge"]

[Text] The Prague headquarters of the "East-West Bridge" [Most Vychod-Zapad], the international association of East European countries, will commence its operations in approximately one month's time. Vladen Krivosheyev, the association's president, briefed journalists about this in Prague yesterday. The founders of this nongovernmental association are the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Comparative Economic and Political Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Laboratory of New Information Technologies—a joint venture involving companies from the USSR, Japan, Finland, Sweden, and Denmark. The association will organize networks of marketing centers and establish commercial banks and joint ventures. Economic organizations with diverse forms of ownership as well as public organizations and corporations can become members of the association. President Krivosheyev also said that the association had offered its services to tackle the problems connected with supplies of Soviet crude oil to the CSFR.

Consular Official on New Visa Regulations

AU2509210490 Prague CTK in English 0904 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sep 20 (CTK)— Since last November 17 Czechoslovakia has negotiated 14 agreements on visa-free contacts, director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's Consular Department Bronislav Kulawiec has told CTK.

Czechoslovakia has at present visa-free contacts with nearly the whole of Europe. Apart from the USSR, Hungary, Poland, GDR, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Finland where people were allowed to go without visas earlier, visas were lifted after November 1989, when the communist regime fell in the country, also on travels to Austria, Italy, San Marino, the Vatican, Denmark, FRG, France, Norway, Iceland, Sweden, Switzerland, Monaco, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, and

the Irish Republic. From October 1 Czechoslovak citizens will be able to travel to Britain without a visa and once a year to Spain.

Kulawiec said Czechoslovakia unilaterally lifted visas for the citizens of the United States and Canada. Visas are now required only when travelling to Spain (an agreement on visa-free travels is to be negotiated at the beginning of November), to Malta (an agreement is expected in October), Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. Agreements on visa-free travels with the latter three are not expected in the nearest future. A visa-free regime will be introduced with small European countries which form a union with their neighbors.

As regards other countries Kulawiec said that lifting the visas is not considered but they are to be granted in the shortest possible period. At present the granting of a visa to some of the Third World countries takes three to six months.

The United States and Canada have not lifted the visa duty but no longer require visa fees. However, Kulawiec said that many Czechoslovak citizens were dissatisfied with the form of interviews conducted with applicants.

A special regime of granting visas is applied to some Asian and African countries where the applicant is required to have a visa to a neighboring country or return air ticket, etc. It is aimed at preventing tourism from being used for other purposes. Kulawiec said Czechoslovakia's partners in Europe would not be pleased if Czechoslovakia became a channel for transit by economic emigrants to other European countries. A strict regime is used only during large migration waves. None of these measures changes anything on Czechoslovakia's interest in satisfactorily solving the issue of refugees. If someone comes to a Czechoslovak Embassy or at the borders to ask for entry and granting of the refugee status because of political persecution in his own country he is let in and immediately handled as a candidate for refugee status, Kulawiec said.

New Constitution Prepared Without Jicinsky

AU2509151190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 19 September on page 1, under the title "I Did Not Support the Leading Role of the Party," publishes a 550-word interview with Professor Zdenek Jicinsky, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, by Marta Csontosova, SMENA correspondent. The place and date of the interview are not given. The introduction explains the reason for the interview, namely that Jicinsky, who collaborated in the preparation of the Constitution of 1960, has been recently repeatedly accused of initiating Article Four of the Constitution on the leading role of the party. Jicinsky admits having worked on the Constitution, but stresses the role of the commission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, and denies having initiated Article Four. "I was definitely not the one who pressed for the [article on] leading role of the party because that had been politically decided beforehand."

Asked about his membership in the commission preparing the constitution of 1968, Jicinsky says that he took part in the preparation of the action policy and of the Constitutional Law on Czechoslovak Federation. Then, however, "because of acting contrary to the intentions of the then political leadership of the party" Jicinsky had to leave his teaching post at the Political College.

Jicinsky concludes the interview stating: "I am aware of the fact that my participation in the preparation of the Constitution of 1960 may be for young people a strong argument [against me]. Therefore, I cannot be upset or sorry for being eliminated from this commission." (Jicinsky was eliminated from the commission preparing the new Constitution).

Political Parties Oppose Local Elections Date

AU2309204490

[Editorial report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 13 September on page 1, under the title "To Postpone the Local Elections," publishes a "pen"-signed 500-word report on yesterday's roundtable organized by the Czechoslovak National Congress (CSNK, formerly the Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality). According to the report, representatives of 15 political parties and movements took part in the event. The report says that the reason for the roundtable was the need for a discussion of the Law on Elections of the Representation in Communities adopted by the Czech National Council on 5 September. According to P. Susicky of the CSNK, since there is no Constitutional Court to assess the correctness of the law, the CSNK decided on this form of protest. Susicky says that the CSNK members feel that the law was prepared without sufficient opportunity for citizens' input, the time allotted candidates to come forward is too short, and it is not clear where and how a citizen can submit his candidacy. He also said that the publication of the law comes too late for the elections and the political parties cannot obtain their financial contributions in time. Representatives of six parties joined in the complaint.

The report further states that the participants were given copies of a five-page petition entitled "Protection of Democracy", which was sent on Tuesday (11 September) to A. Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, by the assembly of Political Parties, Movements, and Associations of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. According to the report, the petition states that "we witness today a true counterrevolution and attempts at a new monopolization of power" and it demands that the "Federal Assembly contribute to immediate cessation of campaigns against political parties." In addition, the petition requests that the Constitutional Court be immediately established. "It also objects to 24 November 1990 as the date for the local elections." The report

concludes with another quote from the petition: "The elections are to take place a week after the first anniversary of the November revolution, and the scenario of the celebrations is entirely in the hands of the Coordinating Centers of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence movement."

Security Chief Describes Role of New Office

AU2409142990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 15 Sep 90 p 3

["(jd)"-signed report: "Society's Scalpel"]

[Text] Prague—"The approximately 150 directives which regulated the activity of State Security still exist. If we are integrated into the Federal Ministry of the Interior these regulations will also apply to us", said Jiri Muller, director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, at yesterday's news conference in Prague.

The main task today is the swift passing of a law on the Federal Service for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and on the utilization of intelligence facilities. Only this law can finally destroy the old connections between some of the 10,000 people who work in or cooperate with the Federal Ministry of the Interior and, at the same time, boost the work of this new office.

At a news conference, the journalists heard a real "nugget" of information according to which, at present, when dozens of detective agencies are being established all over the republic's territory and are using all types of technological aids, starting with eavesdropping devices and ending (logically) with weapons, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy is almost defenseless in comparison. In this connection, the director of the office declared that "if we are to be responsible for security, then we cannot pretend that problems do not exist. We have to have the opportunity of being able to keep records, to describe them, and to analyze them. What will happen to them is not our business any more, it is the government's business. The office does not have these opportunities yet."

Its previous, and probably most important problem, arises from some obscurities which are caused by the public's former opinion about the working methods of the former State Security. "A knife is neither a good nor a bad tool. What is important is who uses it and how he uses it. In the hands of a doctor it becomes a scalpel, in the hands of a murderer it becomes a dangerous knife," said the director of the new office when describing some necessary methods of its work. According to his information, the new service wants to be purely an intelligence service (for the needs of constitutional officials and organs that are active in prosecuting criminals) and does not want to carry out any repression. "The office will only acquire, process, and provide information to order," J. Muller stressed once again. The Federal Service will be consistently supervised and it will be governed by the principle of being nonpolitical.

According to J. Muller, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy has fewer members now than the tables signed by R. Sacher indicate.

Vacek on Draftee Training, Army Professionalization

AU2309204190 Prague PRACE in Czech 13 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General Miroslav Vacek, CSFR defense minister, by Vladislav Neuzil; place and date not given: "Soldiers for a Year, but...."; first paragraph is PRACE introduction]

[Text] The changes in society are being fully reflected in the changes in the Army. Military service is shorter for many people and more and more draftees are successfully avoiding basic military training. The "service" itself is more democratic; not infrequently we even see soldiers wearing their uniforms abroad. On the one hand, military service has been cut and, on the other, the preparation of draftees (at least on paper) remains basically the same. For a competent answer about the real situation with draftees and the professionalization of our Army, we went to ask the most competent person—Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense.

[Neuzil] Former members of SVAZARM [Czechoslovak Union for Cooperation With the Army], now members of the Defense Union, and other similar associations claim—as professional staff—that future draftees must continue to be trained because a state order [statni zakazka] has been issued pertaining to this. What are the Army's requirements as far as these organizations are concerned?

[Vacek] It is not in my power to set any kind of directive tasks for SVAZARM or any other successor organization. I held talks with some representatives of the Association of Technical Sports and Activities who wanted to know the Army's opinion about the future training of draftees. It is understandable that someone has to train drivers before they enter basic military service. I have no objection to them continuing to be trained in driving schools. If this organization wants to train draftees, let it do so and when we have resources for this, we will pay this organization. Let no one say, however, that we are assigning something to SVAZARM or to its successor organization.

[Neuzil] Representatives of the former SVAZARM structures who "look after" draftees' training claim that a form of obligatory state tasks is involved. Is there any truth in this?

[Vacek] It would be difficult for us to issue any directive guidelines at this time. We would be pleased, for example, if the training of drivers or other specialists was

to continue, but this does not mean that SVAZARM should change its structure or anything else and blame the whole situation on us.

[Neuzil] The training of draftees, then, is being considered for the future?

[Vacek] This is an open question. We do not know how the private entrepreneur who employs the draftee will behave or whether, for instance, a state enterprise will be willing to release the draftee for training. Armies in other countries proceed more circumspectly from the point of view of cutting military service. In our country there will be, de facto, no pre-military training.

[Neuzil] Defense training has been abolished in schools. Do you agree with this?

[Vacek] I would rather not comment on this, because as a career soldier I would, obviously, want defense training to be preserved. Despite this, it would be worth pondering why a subject similar to defense training exists in some Western states. At least we have supported the newly established organizations which engage in such training, for example, Junak and others. For a start we have handed over to them for nothing material worth more than 2 million korunas since this was the only thing we could give them.

[Neuzil] How do you view the complete professionalization of the Army?

[Vacek] It is impossible to discount this in the future. Many people think this means that citizens' defense obligations will disappear completely, but this is not possible. For example, imagine that by the year 2000 we have a 50,000-strong fully professional Army. If some kind of conflict were to break out, then 50,000 soldiers would not be enough; reserves must also be prepared. This would mean a kind of territorial training like the one they have, for instance, in Switzerland. For example, every young man would have to undergo three months of basic service spread out over a period of several years. If an armed conflict broke out, he would be called up.

[Neuzil] Our Army is not deployed equally throughout the state's territory. According to some reports, the Slovak Government has shown an interest in a third of the Army being deployed in Slovakia. Is this being taken into consideration?

[Vacek] Redeployment of the Army is necessary. We will do everything to ensure that our Army's troops, to date, concentrated along the border with the Federal Republic of Germany, will be deployed equally throughout our territory. I have not discussed the percentage requirement with Mr. Meciar, the Slovak premier, but we will do everything to ensure that we meet such a requirement.

Czech Republic Defense Council Discusses Issues

LD2509113490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] The Czech Republic's Defense Council discussed on 24 September the results of Ministry of Transport inspections of motor vehicles in several selected commercial organizations according to Army requirements. It was stated that the system and usefulness of these inspections needs to be reassessed.

The council also discussed cooperation of the Western Military District with territorial bodies regarding defense needs. It charged the minister of state inspection with the task of inspecting the implementation of the Civil Service Law. It also assessed what provisions have been made for civil defense of the population.

The Czech interior minister is to discuss with the defense minister the degree of his ministry's participation in implementing the new concept of state defense. This involves effective use of financial means for defense and the improvement of material and technical equipment of the defense apparatus.

The Czech Republic's Defense Council session, chaired by Petr Pithart, has decided to reduce the number of members released from the Armed Forces in civilian bodies.

Czech Trade Minister on Date of Price Increases

LD2409170290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] Vlasta Stepova, Czech minister of trade and tourism, gave a news conference in Prague today devoted to topical questions of supplies of goods.

She announced at the news conference the changes of prices of industrial goods would not take place on October. The liberalization of prices of industrial goods is, however, expected to take place at the beginning of next year.

Slovak National Council To Convene 28 Sep

LD2409220490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 24 Sep 90

[Text] The Slovak National Council Presidium discussed at its session in Bratislava today some principles of the draft constitution of the Slovak Republic. It was explained by Supreme Court Chairman Karol Plank. The Presidium also discussed the plan of the legislative tasks of the Slovak Government for the second half of this year which should take more into consideration the request to improve the preparation of the government bills and to allow more time for discussing them in individual committees of the Slovak National Council.

The Presidium convened the sixth meeting of the Slovak National Council for 28 September.

Moric Interviewed on Slovak National Party

AU2509132590

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 September, pages 1 and 3, under the title "We Are Always Half a Step Ahead," publishes a 1,400-word interview with Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party, by Gabriela Rothmayerova, PRAVDA correspondent. The place and date of the interview are not given. Congratulated on the success in the elections, Moric said that he expected 25 percent of the vote and, were the elections fair, his party would have received these 25 percent. Referring to the Budaj (Public Against Violence movement) affair, Moric added: "We had our deputies screened, not one of them signed a promise to collaborate with the State Security." Returning to the issue of support for his party, Moric claimed that in a real referendum, 20 percent of Slovaks would vote for an autonomous Slovakia.

The interviewer referred to the Slovak National Party as "the only party which went into the elections with a national policy." Moric denies this: "Those who argue that we were the only ones with a national policy were always half a step behind us. We really did come first and alone with a national policy; however, when other parties—for instance, the Christian Democratic Movement and the Public Against Violence movement—saw that our assets, assets of heart and reason, appreciated in value. They attempted to adjust their policies according to our model." An additional improvement to the party's policy is, according to Moric, its transformation to a national-economic policy. The best economists are supposed to have participated in preparing this new policy but "these people do not wish to be named."

Remarkable, according to the interviewer, was that at the Hlinka anniversary celebrations, the crowd forced the organizers to include Moric in the program, and he read his "spontaneous" speech. Moric corrected the questioner—"it was not a crowd but an assembly." Yes, it was a spontaneous speech, he wrote it on his knee when he saw he had the opportunity to speak. He did not know what to say but "that it must be a speech worthy of the culture, civilization, and discipline of the assembled crowd."

The remainder of the interview deals with Moric's political career.

Slovak Government Approves Budget Bills

LD2509220890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Today the Slovak Government approved the course of the work on the new economic system, which gives an exact schedule and supplements the plan of the main tasks of the government for the second half of this year. It includes stabilization policy, privatization and restitution, liberalization of prices, internal convertibility of korunas, social connections of the reform, and other issues.

It approved the bill of the law on the rules of management of budget funds in Slovak Republic. The bill defines the state budget as an economic and legal institute in which, for the first time, the original jurisdiction over resources created at its territory is concentrated.

It is envisaged that the republic's state budget will leave a part of its income for the federation state budget for covering common needs.

The Slovak Government also agreed with the bill of the law of the Federal Assembly about the rules of managing budget funds of the state budget of the federation, the amendment according to the Office of the Slovak Government's position.

Validity of Threat Against Moric Questioned

AU2409153690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Jan Fulle report: "An Attempt on V. Moric's Life? Hoax or a Serious Threat?"]

[Text] Prague—In its Wednesday [19 September] issue, the Prague "independent lunchtime paper 'EXPRES'," which is sometimes called a gutter paper—not always without justification—published a brief report under the sensationalist headline "Attempt on Slovak's Life." It was written on the basis of Tuesday's [18 September] telephone call by the "leader of the Czech Lion organization," in which he announced that Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party [SNS], would be assassinated on Wednesday. It is paradoxical that the very day Mr. Moric, in his capacity as deputy to the Federal Assembly, participated in a debate on the security situation in the state. Mr. Wagner, the chief editor of EXPRES, immediately dialed 158 [the police emergency number] and agreed to his telephone being tapped—the "Czech Lion" promised to call again. He did so yesterday morning at 0845, but this time he called a different number.... He introduced himself as Mr. Dvorak and said that his organization had changed its decision and will give Mr. Moric a chance. He must "only" apologize to the Czech nation in the press, radio, and television by the end of September. Yesterday morning we visited chief editor Wagner and Mr. Vitazoslav Moric personally provided this newspaper with a statement, in which he promised to give it an interview and invited members of the "Czech Lion" to a meeting.

During a private investigation we managed to find out that the Czech Lion organization is supposedly very close to the Republican Party. This piece of information has also been confirmed by Richard Sacher, former minister of the interior.

Immediately after the publication of the report in EXPRES, the responsible bodies of the Federal Ministry of Interior took all precautionary measures necessary in such cases.

Slovak Premier on Differences With Calfa

LD2509183290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] The Slovak Government was in session in Bratislava today. Although it discussed several questions related to the development of the Slovak economy, a meeting with journalists was about a different—but equally important—issue which, however, is related to the topic of the session.

Federal Premier Marian Calfa said yesterday in a talk with businessmen that the controversies about jurisdiction slow down the course of the economic reform.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar did not quite agree with this simplification, as he told journalists, among whom was our correspondent Michal Tvarozek.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] We understand it in the opposite way. The solution of the issues of jurisdiction creates the basis for successfully implementing the economic reform. It is of political significance because it stabilizes the country politically, its internal composition. It is important because it changes the structure of the existing bodies of state administration. Everyone knows that the structure is unsuitable. Do they want to implement the new modern economy with the old structures? They have already failed four times in trying to implement economic reforms, and where are the guarantees that the same people will succeed with them this time? Let us consider the personnel that exist today. Ministries have been changed, and here and there, their deputies or heads of department have also changed, but the rest of the people in the apparatus remain the same. Have they learned to think in a new way since November, in the new framework of market economy? Therefore, our view is that this must be solved first. If we are exerting pressure on the Federal Government today, it is not a bid to deprive it of its jurisdictions. We are putting pressure on it to adapt itself to the conditions of market economy from tomorrow, to get ready for reform. We, therefore, reject as nonsense the accusation that the jurisdiction is against revolutionary changes in Slovakia. The only way to achieve them in Slovakia directly and in a short time is through the jurisdiction.

[Tvarozek] Mr. Premier, how would these views influence the course of actions of our delegation in Kromeriz?

[Meciar] We understand it as a political struggle for the structure of the country and of its relations, which has national connotations and also economic, social, and cultural ones. This is reflected in everything else. Views such as the one we are just discussing will not shake us in our intentions. It is natural that a diversity of views will exist. Our concept is clear: It is aiming 20 years ahead—this is the time limit for which we know our plans, and we are following them purposefully, and nothing will change our attitude. The way to speak to us is not by insulting us. It is also not a way of negotiating to accuse us of something which we have already (?agreed upon). We are open to every concrete argument; however, things for which there is no proof are not acceptable for us. This has been argued from the very beginning, and we shall change nothing on it. Naturally the attitude of federal bodies is influenced by the attitude of the apparatus, which is trying to preserve itself. They will always shout: If we are not here, there will be no federation and there will be no future. There will be a future even if the apparatus is not here, and it will be better and more beautiful and more pleasant for everybody. [end recording]

Notice to Readers: *Beginning 4 Oct, the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT as well as the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe DAILY REPORT and the East Europe JPRS Report will cease publication. Also on that date, the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will be renamed GERMANY. The GERMANY section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT will include the kind of material previously published under the FRG, GDR, and German Unification titles, as well as material previously found in the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC sections of the East Europe JPRS Report.*

Interior Minister Releases Official Stasi Report

LD2509151190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1040 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel today presented the following documentation to the public:

Since the start of the peaceful revolution in our country, the disbandment of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] power apparatus - primarily represented by the Ministry of State Security [MfS]—has been the focal point of public attention in our country.

There is today no question that the total MfS complex, set up 40 years ago—
—was a nationwide system of massive extent as regards personnel and equipment;
—carried out to an increasing extent anticonstitutional acts;
—and was active under the leadership of the SED Politburo, embedded in the command economy pursued by the SED.

However, even today there is no question that neither in October 1989 nor in April 1990 would an outsider have been able to recognize the scale on which this colossus, covering the whole of the GDR, worked and of what it was capable.

Here are a few relevant facts: At the time of the start of the disbandment the MfS/AFNS [Office for National Security] employed a staff of about 85,000.

These were used as follows:

Number of Persons:	Tasks:
9,200	Counterespionage; protection of the national economy and the apparatus of the state, fighting opposition movements and extremist tendencies in the country.
2,771	Checking of mail, violation of postal secrecy.
1,486	Internal telephone monitoring. Before the disbandment, facilities existed to monitor up to 2,000 telephones.
4,000	Intelligence activities and external counterintelligence within the country.
8,426	Electronic intelligence and counterintelligence operations, government communication links, coding service, data processing, weapons and production of special operational devices and installations. For intelligence and counterintelligence operations the MFS had highly advanced technology at its disposal, which also intercepted foreign communications links that until then were regarded as absolutely safe.
4,876	Protection of individuals, anti-terror unit.
2,244	Investigative institution, custody prisons.
1,284	Information analysis.
10,559	District offices.

From the beginning of the district offices they were used to establish an internal security apparatus covering the entire territory of the GDR; the strengthening of this apparatus both in personnel and material terms had top priority.

Based on their role and function, the district offices were the units of the MfS that had to implement the whole variety of the MfS's operational tasks in their particular territory. This was also the essential difference between the district offices and all other service units of the MfS, which each had their own specifically defined tasks.

The particular task of the district offices included:

1. Specific identification of enemies and uncovering enemy activity, identification and investigation of hostile enemy forces, and uncovering and prevention of their plans and activities.

2. Comprehensive preventive protection of selected processes, areas, premises, territories, and groups of people because of their special importance for the development of society and the security of the state.

3. Political security assessment, investigation, operational checking and maintaining permanent control over persons of operational interest to be preventively covered.

4. Investigation of all actions, incidents, and processes of importance in an operation, and investigation of persons related to these.

5. Preventive protection of important public events and functions and protection of leading representatives of the country and their foreign guests during visits.

6. Uncovering and activity to prevent subversive attacks and other operations threatening the security of the state.

7. Supporting other offices of the MfS by way of operational investigation, recruitment, and training of new cadres and participation in operations and actions.

All this meant a full concentration of the district offices operational forces on monitoring and fighting persons, who, according to the SED leadership's definition, were part of the political underground movement, as well as on preventing and fighting crime and other "hostile" actions supposedly originating from citizens trying to emigrate to the West.

Further staff included:

12,000	Staff for surveillance of cross border passenger transport and for comprehensively checking all persons crossing the border;
13,254	Staff responsible for material, financial, personnel, medical, and organizationsl back-up. In the last few years the MfS accounted for an average of more than four billion marks of public spending. More than 50 percent of this was used for salaries and pay alone.
16,000	Men in the Guards Regiment and in guard and security units.

Resolutions on further measures for disbanding of the MfS/AFNS of 16 May 1990.

On 16 May 1990 the Council of Ministers adopted the "Resolution on further tasks and measures resulting from the disbanding of the former Ministry for State Security/Office for National Security (MfS/AFNS)".

The coalition government of the Christian Democratic Union, German Social Union, Democratic Awakening, Social Democratic Party, and League of Free Democrats representing three fourths of the voters has adopted this resolution unanimously. The committee for disbanding the former MfS/AFNS, formed in accordance with the decision of the Modrow government of 8 February, 1990, was thereby put under the control of the deputy prime minister and minister of the interior. The decision of 16 May 1990 also specifies the responsibilities of other ministers in fully overcoming this problem. The various accusations against Mr. Diestel are wrong. The disbanding of the MfS/AFNS is not his responsibility alone.

His allies are, apart from his ministerial colleagues, the parliamentary special committee for the control of the disbandment of the former MfS/AFNS, the state committee for the disbandment of the MfS/AFNS and the advisory government commission, as well as all citizens who wish to see a democratic, constitutional morally clean GDR included in a new Germany, and, of course, the victims of state security whose rehabilitation he resolutely supports.

Dr. Diestel and the MDI (Ministry of Interior) have a task firmly outlined according to the Council of Ministers resolution mentioned.

MfS—Abolition Thoroughly Successful

The state security was the best organised secret service system in the world. This inhuman system of repression and surveillance has been peacefully abolished.

In connection with this, nobody lost his life during Interior Minister Dr. Diestel's term of office. The people and the politicians of the De Maiziere government succeeded in preventing Romanian conditions from coming about.

The former full-time employees of the MfS were dismissed from service by the committee for the disbandment of the MfS/AFNS by 31 March 1990. This necessitated between 400 and 600 dismissals per day. Thus, the personnel viability of the service units and structures was abolished. This process did not succeed by itself but constantly called for new debates.

In connection with the dismissals, the privileges provided for staff in accordance with the MfS charter were gradually stripped away.

Further measures followed:

1. Disbanding the 38 central service units of the former MfS with approximately 33,000 staff between March and June 1990.

Disbanding of the main intelligence department [Hauptabteilung aufklaerung] gained particular importance.

As late as February the Modrow government still intended to maintain the intelligence department at 25 percent of its former strength. Public pressure, particularly from the security working group of the roundtable and the citizens' committees, led to the decision that the main intelligence department would also be disbanded.

The 15 area offices of the MfS were completely disbanded by 31 March 1990.

2. All service units of the MfS are to be secured, and files and documents deposited in the archives are to be removed.

The total material runs to 160 continuous kilometers, which corresponds to the distance between Berlin and Cottbus. Simultaneously, in accordance with the decisions of the roundtable, all electronic files carrying personal data have been destroyed in order to prevent unauthorized persons gaining access to them.

3. Action was urgently necessary to destroy all technical facilities for monitoring persons, particularly bugging and tapping devices as well as radio and communications facilities and stations transmitting data between service units of the former MfS and the data processing and computer center. This task was seriously tackled and is now resolved.

4. In agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all foreign treaties in the area of secret service work have been cancelled.

5. All the property of the MfS has been registered and temporarily handed over to administration by a trust. This will ensure a gradual transfer into the civilian sector.

Priority was given in this process to the 836 housing units which will become part of the communal housing stock. This consists of some 18,000 apartments.

Special measures were needed in close cooperation with the civilian committees and broad sections of the population to discover the whereabouts of the 838 special sites, which were for clandestine purposes and about which there was much speculation, and were not mentioned in MfS documents. Of the 1,819 service, sport, and recreation sites, 633 have been handed over to new users under user agreements and in the case of 164 sites there was a transfer of legal rights.

6. Arrangements were made for the final withdrawal of privileges from former MfS employees and their placing on equal terms with the average social level of GDR citizens, particularly in the sphere of pensions and unemployment benefit, arrangements which were demanded and accepted by the public.

With the Council of Ministers resolution of 16 May, 1990, the responsibility for the dissolution of the MfS/AFNS, which up to that point had belonged to a government commissioner, was transferred to the Minister of the Interior. Thus, there was a new quality to the dissolution process, which was carried out consistently in accordance with democratic and legal principles by the minister of the interior and was borne by the government and the People's Chamber. This included in particular

—the securing of the continued handling of files and documents on the basis of legal principles and measures, above all in the sphere of personal data protection;
—the lifting of the duty of confidentiality for former employees,
—and principles for the future handling of the property of the former MfS/AFNS.

In order to reveal particular structures, measures were introduced and implemented by the Ministry of the Interior, above all to detect links in the sphere of antiterrorism.

The Ministry of Interior discovered particular structures and the involvement of the MfS with the international terrorist scene. This led to internationally highly regarded succeses in the hunt for terrorists.

Over and above this, documents of the leadership of the former MfS were published which make clear the close connections between the Stasi and the SED, and the practices of this security apparatus toward all kinds of social sectors in the GDR.

The dialy publications of the Ministry of Interior and the committee for the dissolution of the AFNS help the media, thus ensuring that the public's demands are met and that there is wide-ranging objective reporting.

Many different accusations against the Minister of Interior and the committee for the dissolution of the AFNS that attempts are being made to cover up facts, events, and interconnections with regard to the activities of the MfS can and must be decisively rejected. Hence these facts and background information.

Any information in the process of dissolution about such events and interconnections must be painstakingly collated and convincingly backed up from documents and to an extent from the knowledge of former employees who are willing to cooperate. It would be an illusion to believe that what was set up in the course of 40 years of professional secret service work could be fully deciphered and made public in a few months by outsiders commissioned by the government with dissolving it. [passage omitted]

A Necessary Postscript

Former employees of the MfS are not in leading positions within the Ministry of Interior. The Interior Minister is repeatedly made the target of the blanket accusation that former employees of the State Security have been slotted by him into leading positions in the Ministry of Interior. This is not true. None of the former employees of the Stasi is working in any leading function in the Interior Ministry.

The 3,500 former Stasi members working in the officers of the Ministry of Interior were employed prior to Dr. Diestel's period of office. They were investigated by representatives of the trade union and the then commissioner of the roundtable, Mr. Brinksmeier (SPD). During Dr. Diestel's period of office, only a printing works has been transferred legally to the Ministry of Interior, and thus also the 101 printing workers.

It is also a fact that the former MfS people are innocent members who performed police tasks within the Stasi (personal protection, antiterrorism, explosives experts, drug enforcement officers, and other specialists).

All the lies according to which Mr. Diestel himself was a member of the Stasi (with the rank of major or as an informant) are pure invention. They serve the sole purpose of discrediting Mr. Diestel in the election campaign, of slandering him to the voters.

If Dr. Diestel in his politics always stands firmly for people, avoids confrontation, constantly fights hatred and alienation of large groups of people, then he must expect further slanderous attacks on his person and on the policy of the Christian Democratic Union. All electioneering attacks for his alleged "Stasi past" are without any basis, because there has never in Diestel's life been any point of contact with that former powerful organization.

Stasi Allegedly Ran International Arms Trade

AU2409132290 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 24 Sep 90 p 1

[Werner Kalinka report: "Stasi Organized Arms Trade of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany"]

[Text] Bonn—The Stasi [State Security Service] system organized the arms trade that the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] was responsible. According to information received by DIE WELT, the arms trade was

handled by the Kavelsdorf enterprise near Rostock as dictated by a secret order signed by Lieutenant General Schwanitz, one of the deputies of Stasi Minister Mielke, on 29 July 1987. Kavelsdorf belonged to the "Armament and Chemical Services Department" of the former Ministry for State Security, whose task was to carry out "the transportation, handling, and storage processes involving arms and ammunition, exclusively for the Imex firm in the commercial coordination sector of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In order to make absolutely sure that the Stasi's involvement would not be revealed, the enterprise was designated "Imex Import-Export GmbH, 1086 Berlin, Friedrichstrasse, Kavelsdorf works department." Schwanitz is known to have been a confidant of Honecker's successor, Erich Krenz.

The countries, which, via the Rostock seaport, received arms were Poland, the CSFR, Bulgaria, and—Austria, a country where weapons scandals have paid an important role during the past few years. In this trade, Kavelsdorf served as "transit depot for products from third countries." Kavelsdorf was assigned a second task: It served as a "transit depot" for weapons from the "nonsocialist economic area," that is from Western countries, for the commercial coordination sector.

The Ministry for State Security made it possible for "commercial partners" to come to Kavelsdorf and inspect the "offers" on the spot. "According to international customs in the weapons and ammunition trade, they are offered the opportunity of inspecting the export articles on the spot," the Stasi order read. "Goods manufactured by Imex" that were not sold immediately or within a short period of time were also stored at Kavelsdorf. Weapons destined for the National People's Army were also taken to Kavelsdorf where they were temporarily stored and "prepared for shipment via the Rostock seaport."

The Ministry for State Security and the SED, which had always denied involvement in arms deals, were aware of the political significance of their activities. The order spoke of the "high political sensitivity for the GDR's international standing," that characterized the operation. "Absolute secrecy concerning the links" with Stasi, which served exclusively as the "shield and sword" of the SED, was required. The "competent deputies" of Honecker's friend Mielke were immediately informed on "significant information in connection with operations."

Only elite forces of the Stasi were used in Kavelsdorf. The protection of the facility was ensured exclusively by "officers in special operations" (OibE's), whose task was not only to ensure the protection of the facility but also to ensure the "consistent guarantee and safeguarding of the designation" through purposeful activities. Penetration of the facility had to be ruled out. Inhabitants of the surrounding areas were also primary targets of preventive examinations and investigations. Only dyed-in-the-wool SED members were allowed to work for Imex. Generally, only "proven cadres" were involved in the cooperation.

Stasi Reportedly Possessed Tanks, Aircraft

AU2509135690 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 25 Sep 90 p 8

[Werner Kalinka report: "Stasi Also Had Tanks and Aircraft"]

[Text] Berlin—The Stasi [State Security Service] system possessed more military equipment than has been known so far. According to information received by DIE WELT, the Ministry for State Security owned armored personnel carriers, aircraft, and 342 14.5-mm-caliber antiaircraft submachine guns. According to findings of the Intelligence Committee, over 70 armored vehicles were deployed in Hessenwinkel alone. In Adlershof-Johannisthal, the Stasi guard regiment also had a considerable number of such weapons. At least three aircraft were stationed in Eilenburg. They were mainly used for training a special troop of parachutists. In addition, there are suspicions that the government squadron that was integrated in the Interflug airline was also controlled by the Stasi: However, it has not been possible so far to provide written evidence of this. So far, it was assumed that Stasi only possessed light weapons, including 124,503 pistols and revolvers, 76,592 submachine pistols, 3,611 sniper guns, 499 light submachine guns, and 3,537 tank rifles. Over 60 Stasi facilities with a primarily military character have been discovered so far.

This huge amount of weapons suggests that the leadership of the predecessor of the Party of Democratic Socialism, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, organized the Stasi as the party's "shield and sword" whose task may have included the crushing of unrest among police and army forces. In this connection, it was mentioned that there were dissolution tendencies among the National People's Army in the weeks and months during which the revolutionary changes took place.

The value of the Stasi facilities and other equipment used by the Ministry for State Security—including 22,500 vehicles, for example—amounts currently to about 60 billion Deutsche mark, according to recent calculations. Exact figures are not available at this point because on the one hand the evaluation of the entire assets has not yet been concluded and on the other not all Stasi facilities have been discovered so far—partly because of purposeful misinformation.

The actual number of full-time Stasi employees, which used to be estimated at 85,000, was probably over 100,000. An internal report available to East Berlin's Interior Ministry claims that the number 85,000 was always mentioned to comply with an order dated 25 January 1983 according to which the number of people who worked for the Stasi on 28 February 1983 should not be increased in the future. However, about 3,000 additional people were hired by the Stasi every year. Internal estimates by officers of the Ministry for State Security, who worked under Mielke, even speak of about 109,000 Stasi employees.

Government's New Economic Program Released

LD2509214290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] The Hungarian program wishes to develop a modern, European, social market economy, constructed on the importance of private property. The tasks to be carried out in the interests of this are contained in the three-year program of national renewal, which has now been made public.

In the first period, probably until the end of next year, the government considers its primary task to be to overcome the crisis that has developd and to prepare for future shocks.

According to the document, they wish to create the forms and proportions characteristic of the market economy, not with a one-time ownership reform, but with a privatization process extending from three to five years. At the end of the three-year program, state ownership must be reduced to below 50 percent. A modest growth in the economy can only be expected by the end of the third year.

They wish to impede an impoverishment of large porton of society through the creation of an appropriate social network.

The government declares that Hungary will not initiate a rescheduling of its debt, but will always fulfill its payment obligations.

'Program of National Renewal'

LD2509214590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] The long promised White Book has appeared. The Hungarian Government has made public its program of national renewal. Among the basic principles is that in the developing new legal system, which is ever more complete, the government and, in general, the state, will be in a position of greater distance from the prosses of society, the regulation of these will become indirect, and healthy basic values will appear in the various spheres of life.

In the White Book, which is over 200 pages long, the government views inflation—which this year will probably reach 30 percent—as one of the gravest legacies of the socialist economy. For just this reason, it sets as an aim that the state, as employer and as owner, should slow down price and wage inflation. The government only undertakes a substantive reduction in the level of taxation, depending on how and to what extent the expenditures of the state budget are reduced. For example, in the next three years, they also wish to cease support for the consumer prices of milk and dairy products, as well as the household sources of energy.

In the supplement to the White Book, the most important planned measures of the government can be read item by item.

Among the several dozen undertakings is that the government will launch the so-called employees' share ownership program. In the tax system, it is to implement modifications that will help privatization.

The White Book costs 32 forints.

Experts Queried on Army's Role in Democracy

AU2509125890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Professors Ivan Volgyes and Bela Kiraly by "D.A."-signed reporter; place and date not given: "The Small Professional Army of Democracy"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] What role should the Army play in the new democracy? How can a party's militia become the people's Army? Ivan Volgyes talked to us about these issues while a section of the Erasmus Foundation for Democracy, which he heads, is one of the organizers of the four-day conference on Central European security policy which began in Budapest on 20 September. The Atlantic Research and Publishing Institution of the United States, a body represented by Bela Kiraly, is one of the supporters of the aforementioned conference.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Both soldiers and civilians have been debating a lot recently on the need to reform the Hungarian security policy. In your view, what should be the essence of this reform?

[Volgyes] In my opinion, one must interpret our security policy from two points of view. One is the all-European security system. A Hungarian defense system cannot be imagined without being an organic part of future European defense system. This is possible, however, only if this security is based on mutual trust, honesty, and democracy....

[Kiraly] In the future, neither domestic nor international security should be based on weapons. As proved by the past, only a stable society, economy and government—rather than armies and border guards armed to the teeth, barbed wire, and minefields—are the basic conditions for security.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The process of democratization cannot, of course, avoid the Army, either.

[Volgyes] Of course. There is no place for an overly armed and aggressive army in a democracy. In a democracy, the role of an army is to defend the country in the case of an external attack. This requires a relatively small professional army with modern weapons. Professional here does not mean a mercenary army, but that the soldiers should be honest and moral people, who are capable of defending their homeland at a high professional level.

Oil Shipments From Soviet Union Resume

LD2509135490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] After a one-week stoppage, oil has again been coming from the Soviet Union through the "friendship crude oil pipeline" since morning. Owing to the sputtering Soviet oil exports, Hungarian oil importers have asked for price quotations from 40 foreign firms, but they have received only four bids worth considering. This is because oil supply is scanty on the oil market; more precisely purchase possibilities have decreased due to high prices. On the basis of the events of the past few months, we can say that Soviet-Hungarian relations could do with some improvement.

Goncz Promotes 'Correct Relations' With USSR

LD2509152690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Arpad Goncz confirmed that it is in our national interest to go beyond just nurturing correct relations with the Soviet Union. He also says that these relations should be as good as possible and satisfy both sides.

Arpad Goncz was speaking to a Soviet press reporter in Budapest, prior to his three-day visit to the Ukraine, which begins 27 September.

Stresses Ties With Ukraine

LD2509201490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, has given an interview to a Budapest correspondent of the Soviet press before his three-day visit to the Ukraine which begins on Thursday. [passage omitted]

The head of state expressed the opinion that the very significant processes of transformation currently under way in Hungary and the Soviet Union are running on parallel historical tracks. It follows from the parallel historical path that the two countries are natural allies of each other, although the falling apart of the earlier alliance systems has, to a certain extent, distanced them from each other politically.

Arpad Goncz emphasized that for our country, the most important thing is to take up contacts separately with the Soviet member republics. He added that the significance of the Ukraine, from this point of view, is increased by the fact that between 150,000 and 200,000 Magyars live in Sub-Carpathia. Our country follows their fate with keen interest, and would like them to be able to freely assert their rights to language usage and mother-tongue education, to be granted cultural autonomy, and to be able to travel freely across the border separating the two countries, said the president of the Republic.

Jeszenszky, Shevardnadze Exchange Telegrams

LD2509124190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the reestablishment of Soviet-Hungarian diplomatic relations, the two countries' foreign ministers exchanged greetings telegrams. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the hope that they will raise Hungarian-Soviet relations to a qualitatively new level and contribute to the strengthening of European and international security.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stressed that the Hungarian Government invariably seeks a good-neighborly relationship between the two countries in accordance with Europe's democratic endeavors, which should develop on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Government Consents to GDR Leaving Warsaw Pact

LD2509141590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] In bilateral consultations, the Hungarian Government has given its consent to the GDR leaving the legal ties of the Warsaw Pact. According to international law, with the formation of a united Germany, the GDR's legal obligations would have terminated automatically, but in his letter addressed to prime ministers of the Pact states, Premier Lothar de Maiziere has proposed that an agreement on the termination of the GDR's Pact membership be concluded at bilateral talks.

The GDR's foreign representation was informed about the decision of the Hungarian Government yesterday. This is the first occasion that a Warsaw Pact state is leaving the organization with the consent of the other states. When Albania left the Pact, it was a unilateral act.

Imre Szokai Meets PRC Friendship Delegation

LD2509204490 Budapest MTI in English 1826 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—Imre Szokai, deputy secretary of state of the Foreign Ministry, received the delegation of the federation of Chinese-foreign friendship societies, on Tuesday [25 September].

The delegation, led by vice president Chen Haosu is on a week-long visit of friendship to Hungary, in the framework of a cooperation agreement between the International Cultural Institute of Hungary and the Chinese federation.

Walesa Interviewed on Quest for Presidency

LD2509122890 Warsaw PAP in English 1044 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—The SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily published today an interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa. Asked why he wanted to be a president, he said:

"I want to implement the programme we prepared in 1980. At that time we decided to overthrow the communist system and to build a new one. And I must continue to do this until the free election. As it is, only free elections will either free myself of this duty or impose new ones on me. Practically, I do not have any choice until they take place."

"I started these reforms and I must complete them. I led this struggle and I could not leave it halfway," Walesa went on.

The Solidarity chairman said there was not any conflict between him and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Answering a question on what proposal he will make to Prime Minister Mazowiecki if he is elected president, Lech Walesa said:

"There is a freedom of choice in a free country. I offered myself as a candidate in the presidential elections. Now there is a problem of who wants to contend with me and not who I want to contend with. It is difficult to say what the situation will be like when Mazowiecki runs for president and I will win. And the other way around. But I already know what I will do. Though it happens that what we know today does not have to be the same tomorrow."

Sejm Commission Discusses Presidential Elections

LD2609080990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Today the Sejm Legislative Commission will finish its discussion on the presidential bill concerning amendments to the Constitution. It will also consider the deputies' draft law on presidential elections. Yesterday it was decided that the president of the Polish Republic will be elected in universal, direct, equal, and secret balloting. The president's term of office will be six years. The National Assembly, convened by the Sejm speaker, may declare the president's inability to exercise authority due to illness. The Assembly may also consider the impeachment of the president in the National Tribunal. Should the president die in office, the Sejm speaker will set the date of elections no later than 14 days after the office is vacated.

Parliamentarians Debate Constitutional Amendment

AU2509131190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Krzysztof Gottesman and Grzegorz Sieczkowski: "A New President This Year"]

[Text] On 19 September, Wojciech Jaruzelski placed before the Sejm marshal the draft of a constitutional amendment that would shorten his term of office. The draft calls for the election of a president by universal ballot. The marshal would issue a decree for this election not later than two months from the day on which the draft comes into effect, and the election itself would take place within the following two months. Thus, the tenure of Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Republic of Poland, elected by the National Assembly on 19 July 1989, would be shortened and would terminate the moment when a new president, elected by universal ballot, takes office.

Meeting of the Citizens Parliamentary Club

According to Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP], the new president could be elected as early as November. This idea is also contained in the draft Sejm resolution which the OKP prepared on Wednesday with a view to presenting it at the Sejm debate on the suject of the election calendar. The draft resolution says: "The Sejm declares its readiness to quickly undertake legally envisaged legislative action so that the election may take place before 3 December." The draft resolution also calls for a curtailment of the tenure of both parliamentary chambers and the adoption of a package of legislation essential in order to continue the country's reforms and guarantee social security for the citizens. The draft also places the government under an obligation to present before parliament a draft budget early enough for it to be adopted by parliament within the time limit envisaged by the Constitution.

Following a discussion, the OKP parliamentarians crossed out a point in the resolution giving 28 February as a provisional date for the end of the term of office of both chambers of parliament.

According to both documents, the present parliament would continue in office after the new president has been elected. Many people consider this a dangerous situation because of the likelihood of a change of government after the presidential election. For that reason, these people think the parliamentary election should take place at the same time as the presidential one. At his meeting with journalists on Wednesday, Bronislaw Geremek said that from the point of view of the state, and especially from the point of view of social expectations, it would be better if the presidential election took place sooner, and if the present parliament were allowed to adopt the new Constitution.

Both Jaruzelski's draft and Geremek's Wednesday press meeting are closely linked to the Sejm political debate starting on Thursday [27 September]. Apart from the president, a curtailment of parliament's term of office, and a date for the election, this Sejm debate will also discuss various draft election rules. Two apparently contradictory sets of rules will be placed before the Sejm, the first one calling for proportional representation only, and the other calling for proportional representation in some constituencies and a simple majority in others. According to Geremek, who spoke to the chairmen of other deputies clubs on Wednesday, "a far-reaching consensus is possible."

Disputes Inside the Democratic Party

The meeting of the Democratic Party [SD] Deputies Club began with reports on Tuesday's meeting with Primate Glemp, at which the SD was represented by Deputy Prime Minister Jan Janowski and SD Deputies Club Chairman Anna Dymowska. Dymowska said: "Only 'Solidarity' Chairman Lech Walesa and Center Accord leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski issued unequivocal declarations. The others merely presented their stances." Deputy Prime Minister Janowski said that his speech before the primate discussed problems of political culture and the effect of the personification of politics on the political situation in Poland.

At a meeting of their club on Wednesday, SD deputies related to the changes in the political calendar. SD Chairman Aleksander Mackiewicz was asked to present a stance by the SD leadership on the subject of an accelerated election. "The SD is not interested in banging on the political drum," Mackiewicz said. "A delay in political solutions does not lie on our interests." However, he admitted that there is no official stance by the SD leadership about the changes to the political scenario. Deputy Prime Minister Janowski said that only the SD Deputies Club has any chance of winning over public opinion. "Our party leadership is incapable of doing so," he said. Janowski said he thought that both elections, parliamentary and presidential, should take place as soon as possible. "President Jaruzelski is acting like a brake on Poland's domestic and external situation," he said.

Following a discussion, the SD deputies decided that the parliamentary and presidential elections should take place separately, whereby the parliamentary election must take place not later than halfway through the Sejm's term of office, in other words June, following the adoption an essential package of economic legislation. SD deputies would like to see a political referendum held during the presidential election, to determine questions concerning the Constitution. The Constitution should be adopted by the present parliament and then confirmed in another referendum, this time during the parliamentary election. The SD club spoke out in favor of election rules calling for proportional representation.

Center Accord Parliamentarians

At 2100 hours there was a meeting of Center Accord parliamentarians, closed to journalists. We learned that Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski reported on the meeting with Primate Glemp. "Our meeting was a technical one," Kaczynski said. "We hope the changes we suggested will be implemented quite quickly, but we cannot forecast how 50 percent of today's deputies will vote."

The Polish Peasant Party Favors Proportional Representation

In the evening there was a meeting of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] Deputies Club. This meeting was also closed to journalists, but Chairman Josef Zych told us afterwards that the political calendar had been discussed. It had been decided that the PSL Club would support proportional representation without any "threshold." "We believe proportional representation gives us the greatest chances in the election," said Zych. Apart from that, the PSL thinks that both the election rules and the new Constitution should be discussed outside the Sejm. Asked whether they should be determined in a referendum, Zych said that no final solution had been adopted.

The PSL Deputies Club favors a separate presidential election and parliamentary election. However, the parliamentary election should take place after the adoption of a package of 30 economic laws and after the president has been elected. At the 27 September Sejm meeting, the PSL deputies will vote for President Jaruzelski's draft amendment to the Constitution.

PAP Cites Jaruzelski's LE MONDE Interview

LD2509133790 Warsaw PAP in English 1237 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Paris, Sept. 25—My decision to ask the parliament to change the Constitution and allow cutting short my presidential term is another confirmation of the logic and consistency of my activities and my political philosophy. There is nothing extraordinary in timing. In my opinion, my present political arrangement is functioning normally. The cooperation between the president and the parliament, the prime minister, and the government is smooth. It is not, therefore, an emergency situation. Simply, the need is ripening to proceed to another stage, absorb new forces, think of future challenges, President Wojciech Jaruzelski told LE MONDE.

My tasks as an initiator of the roundtable and the president was to guarantee evolutionary and safe character of the changes. I did my best, within my constitutional powers, to support them and take part in shaping them. A moment has come today in which the irreversibility of changes is obvious, crystallization of such a political and economic configuration that would allow going into a new stage, to make a reconstruction better

conforming with the spirit of time. Therefore, my current decision is organically embedded in the process of changes, in which I have taken an active part.

I realize that all who evaluate and criticize the policies I carried out emphasize the martial law first of all, Jaruzelski said when answering one of the questions. I have spoken about this many times. Let me confine myself to saying that of course, it would have been great happiness if that dramatic decision could have been prevented. But happiness is not an easy thing in politics—and it was not that time. I regret that the then internal and external situation of Poland was such that, unfortunately, it had to come to that decision. So if I speak of regret, it is first of all because I had found myself in the orbit of such processes which inevitably led to the said solution. But all in all, it was a lesser evil.

Answering a question about his opinion of Poland's present situation, Jaruzelski said: This is a situation in which great hopes and great hazards are clashing. I am by my nature a mild optimist and I believe that these hopes will be fulfilled, and that we shall manage to use our opportunities, Jaruzelski told LE MONDE.

Bujak on Dangers Facing Society, Solidarity

PM2509152390 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 31 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak, leader of Citizens Movement Democratic Action (ROAD) group, by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA correspondent Leslaw Maleszka; place and date not given]

[Text] [Maleszka] In the years 1980-81 you were chairman of Solidarity's Mazowsze Regional Board, and many people regarded you as the "second in command" within the union. However, you moved away from Solidarity and became active instead in such new institutions as the Warsaw Consensus of Citizens Committees, and most recently in the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] group. I have wondered what your major reason was for making these moves. In recent times, in a number of public addresses you have repeatedly formulated an opinion that over a number of future years the workers as a class will recede from the political and social scene and that a new Polish middle class will take their place there as chief protagonists instead. And that, consequently, the big-industry proletariat—that peculiar creation of the communist system—belongs irrevocably to the past....

[Bujak] I did not move away from Solidarity. However, I had a different concept of its tasks and the role it had to play. You can see Solidarity as exclusively a trade union. But you can also regard it as a movement which was capable of interpreting existing social problems from many angles, that is, in the trade union as well as an economic or a political context. Thanks to that we developed a capacity for imagination—which is so very necessary in the process of reforming the country—and a talent for moving freely among groups and milieus representing very different—and at times conflicting—interests.

Let us, for example, consider the following situation. You have an enterprise characterized by extremely primitive working conditions that are detrimental to the health and safety of the people employed in it. The trade union's task will be to maintain the number of existing work positions and prevent a closure of the factory. Such a union will gain people's approval. However, when we realize that the enterprise in effect exploits its employees and places their health and safety at risk, we will inevitably come to the conclusion that the union is actually working against these employees. Solidarity had endeavored to free itself from such a narrow interpretation of its mission and to gain a broader view of the working peoples' problems, to look at these problems in a long-term perspective and develop a vision of a comprehensive package of institutional reforms to be implemented in this sphere. True, one consequence of such reforms would be the elimination of work positions which degrade human labor. Consequently, in order to effectively implement such a plan, it was necessary not only to view things from the trade union perspective but also to consider them in the light of social, demographic, ecological, and political concerns.... And in this sense I believe that everything that I concern myself with today is indeed very closely connected with Solidarity as I always interpreted it.

[Maleszka] But in the meantime Solidarity has suffered a split....

[Bujak] Yes, this is they way things happen. The beginning was both comprehensible and well justified: The Citizens Com mittees were created as a kind of political and social arm of Solidarity. Later, however, Walesa initiated a split in which at least two rival groups emerged in the movement, and since then it is no longer possible to talk about any uniform, cohesive policy pursued by Solidarity. Particular groups will continue to concern themselves with political business, while Solidarity's own role will in fact be reduced to that of a simple trade union. There is another question: How will this union behave? Will it adopt a modern approach or an antiquated one? This depends, among other things, on whether one or other of the groups will take on the role of the union's political backup structure and decide to pursue the jointly devised political line. In my opinion, if Solidarity is left to its own devices, it will soon lose its central position and become marginalized.

[Maleszka] What message, then, would you pass on to the workers today?

[Bujak] Viewing their problems in a wider perspective, I first and foremost owe them a truthful description of the situation in which they have found themselves. A political activist campaigning for popular support would not tell them what lies ahead: a gradual disappearance of the working class from the political and economic scene,

where it will be replaced by qualified engineers, technocracy, and the new middle class. However, my own experience indicates that whenever you tell people the truth openly, you gain their trust in return, even if the truth is painful.

[Maleszka] But has the working class as an entity not been a mythical concept in Poland from the very start? Is it not true that the working people as a group have always been deeply divided and stratified? And that they have always nurtured strong aspirations to social advancement, to becoming elevated to the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie?

[Bujak] The workers can be divided into two groups. In the first you will find the skilled workers: people who can boast wider qualifications—albeit not necessarily obtained through school education—and enjoy authority over and the respect of their fellow workers. They seldom change jobs and can be said to constitute, so to speak, a "working class aristocracy." This was the group in which Solidarity originally gained most support. But there is also another group of people who are fairly primitive, not aspiring to any better qualifications, and entertaining barely mediocre ambitions. These were the habitual customers of enterprise party structures.

[Maleszka] So we should now expect that before long renewed conflicts in enterprises will begin to break up working people's communities again. The trade union movement may be unable to tackle and contain these antagonisms.

[Bujak] Indeed. We are now facing a whole new category of conflicts. For example, there is the question of the direction of the workers' self-management movement which is now being set up and its stand on questions associated with the privatization scheme. The danger arises from the fact that it is precisely in these circles that the tendency to make ideological experiments with the concept of employee shareholding schemes is strongest. If this tendency ever attracts both political and wider public support, it could become really dangerous. This is because it offers a whole range of attractive illusions. We must remember that, apart from a few individual cases, employee shareholding schemes have never been successful on a larger scale anywhere. There was one isolated example of a successful application of such a scheme in an American steel plant, but it was a case where the work force appointed a manager who promptly deprived the trade unions of all their powers.

[Maleszka] What about Solidarity itself? The process of the particularization of social interests effectively drained it of a significant number of members. In addition, the union has been shifting to leftist and populist positions.

[Bujak] In 1980 our social scene was unbelievably primitive: a virtually nonexistent handicraft sector; a vast working class; and a weak intelligentsia which had no control at all over the economic processes taking place in the country. By 1989 the social scene was much more varied and active. The interplay of interests involves a wide range of very different protagonists today. The technical and engineering intelligentsia has been steadily gaining an increasingly important position. It is the latter, rather than the working class, that will be able to launch our country on the road to economic reform.

[Maleszka] And this from a trade union activist who has been identified with the so-called "Warsaw left"?

[Bujak] Yes, and this is what I keep saying to my colleagues, since they really must learn to accept it one way or another. The times ahead will be really difficult for people who are not specialists in any field. Certainly they will be able to find some kind of work, at times even better paid than they are getting today. On the other hand, modern economic structures will place highly qualified workers in the ranks of the middle class and give them certain elite standing in their enterprises. For Poland, the road to Europe leads through a policy of mapping out the prospects of professional advancement for qualified personnel.

However, it is a road which requires that we get rid of a certain number of sentimental ideas. We must forget all ideas about loyalty and attachment to our old enterprise and begin calculating where else we can make the best use of our skills and talents. Or we must even ask ourselves the following question: Is my enterprise at all viable in its present shape, and what is the optimum course that could lead to a change in its unsatisfactory condition?

[Maleszka] These views are unpopular within Solidarity. I am even beginning to form the impression that certain plebeian egalitarianist and compensation-seeking tendencies are beginning to prevail there.

[Bujak] I do not think they are as yet beginning to prevail. There are many mature activists in the union—for example, people like Michal Boni, head of the Mazowsze Regional Board, who pursues a fairly advanced model of trade union policy. On the other hand, we still need to know the answer to the question of how Solidarity will behave in case of a prolonged economic crisis. This is because, in spite of everyone agreeing that the road mapped out by the reform will lead us to the desired destination, everyone also knows that it requires very considerable moral courage. Not everyone is prepared to make at least the intellectual effort to give a fair-minded assessment of what has been achieved already. What is worse, for a considerable time now all discussion on these issues has been subordinated to matters pertaining to the election campaign. I am astonished to see how easily certain activists adapt and bend their positions and concepts to what the voters want to hear. The protracted, ongoing election contest has resulted in an unprecedented barbarization of our political life. Back in 1980 the whole society took a crash course in politics, active civic involvement, and principles of economy—and it was a course in which we all taught one another. Today we constantly hear words and

slogans which are bandied about with impunity while failing to serve any useful cause: They do not make anything clearer, they are simply tools in the electoral stakes.

[Maleszka] Populism can take on different guises. Among these, we find certain anti-European, nationalist tendencies. From where do these voices—which are also heard in Poland today—originate? Do they represent a marginal political deviation or a real threat?

[Bujak] A real threat. Political conflicts have already begun to undermine the process of economic reform and cause certain reservations among our partners in the West. If this undermining of the economic reform continues, it could evoke a number of really grim specters arising from the murky depths of our collective social subconscious.

We no longer stop to take note of the numbers of anti-Semitic slogans daubed on the walls in Polish cities. But these slogans horrify our Western visitors. Any Swedish, French, or American citizen—not necessarily a Jew—will draw just one conclusion after seeing these inscriptions during his or her visit to Poland: Foreigners are discriminated against in this country. And every foreigner will begin to experience a fear of remaining here, since they know that this hatred could manifest itself in any form and at any given moment anywhere. We are thus wasting an enormous capital of trust and sympathy that we have won—at a great expense—from the Western world.

[Maleszka] But from where does this phenomenon come?

[Bujak] Well, first of all we must remember that such sentiments exist on the fringe of any society in any country, but they only constitute peripheral manifestations. Furthermore, Western democracies have developed methods of checking and containing this kind of attitude and behavior. Second, we know that people who are governed by primitive instincts, who lack courage or a sense of hope, and who may have suppressed a whole range of complexes and phobias over a period of many years will often try to show off in this way when the reason for their fears has been removed.

[Maleszka] In this case, the danger is really not so great if the phenomenon is restricted to groups of people existing on the margins of society.

[Bujak] On the whole this is true, but it is bound to cause us a great deal of trouble in this interim period.

Kaczynski Denies 'Solidarity 80' Pedigree

PM2509151590 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 27 Aug 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Senator Lech Kaczynski, NSZZ Solidarity chairman, by B. Onichmowski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Onichmowski] Solidarity was launched 10 years ago as a trade union movement, but at the same time it was a political, national, and economic movement. Today, after all these years, its position can be assumed to be completely different, can it not?

[Kaczynski] It is different insofar as we have at least several non-trade union structures in the movement. We have the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP], which is certainly not a trade union structure; we have the government, and we have our elected self-government structures. This shows that Solidarity as a structure is no longer on its own. A comparatively normal political life is now beginning to develop.

[Onichmowski] Two major political organizations, the Center Alliance and Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD], evolved from Solidarity recently. We should mention also all the new political parties, be they numerically large or small.

[Kaczynski] This situation provokes questions about the tasks of Solidarity as a trade union. I should say that the name "Solidarity" should be restored exclusively to the union. It would be unfortunate if any of the political forces active in Poland now were to incorporate the name "Solidarity" in its title. ROAD was anxious to do this, but neither it nor the Center Alliance should have the right to parade under the Solidarity banner. This restriction is actually essential for Poland's progress and development, for the clarity of political divisions, and for the clarity of the choices made by the population. On the other hand, the union should take gradual steps now toward assuming the kind of role which trade unions play in the West—all the while continuing to be a highly influential organization.

[Onichmowski] Assuming that you will run as a candidate in the next parliamentary elections, and that the present political configurations will still apply at the time, would you identify yourself as a parliamentarian with the OKP or the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity camp?

[Kaczynski] If I choose to run in the elections and remain in my position as a union activist, I would, of course, represent the NSZZ Solidarity as a parliamentary deputy. Having said that, I must add that I would be very apprehensive about that particular deputies' group becoming too numerous, since then it would inevitably transform itself into a political party. On the other hand, those who previously ran as representatives of the OKP should now start in the race mainly as representatives of the ROAD or the Center Alliance. Of course, anyone who identifies himself strongly with the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] or the Christian National Union [ZChN] should run as a representative of these groups. The kind of action which was appropriate a year ago, when it allowed us to remove the Communists from power, will not be appropriate now. Walking under the banner of one massive movement in order to compete with several dozen small parties can, of

course, give you an assurance of winning the race, but it also entails the risk of compromising the original banner. We must make sure that at least two political groups stand an equal chance, since in all power systems, including one which will be run by our own people, it is essential to have a means of monitoring and controlling that power.

[Onichmowski] Do you not think that the political struggles and skirmishes in which Solidarity has been engaging could impair the quality of its action as a trade union?

[Kaczynski] In my opinion the fact that the union is not at present conducting the kind of activity that we would have expected it to conduct is the consequence of its having lost a large proportion of valued activists and personnel who have moved on into the political arena. This was, however, an unavoidable development, and we must expect similar instances of inevitable "bloodletting" in the future. We have very many ambitious people here who are very keen to run their own communities: I perceive this ambition in our structures in many localities with populations in the order of 50,000 or so. Well, if they entertain such ambitions, they should by all means try their strength in local self-government elections or in parliamentary elections; let them even enter the running in the presidential election, but they must not attempt to reconstruct the structures of the old system under the banner of the trade union.

[Onichmowski] The Solidarity anniversary meeting was not graced by the presence of such "August 1980" heroes as Jurczyk or Wadolowski. However, we know that some weeks ago Walesa despatched a certain message to Jurczyk. Do you believe that there is a chance for a rapprochement between Solidarity and Solidarity 80?

[Kaczynski] I also regret the fact that those historic leading figures are not with us today. However, the direction adopted by Solidarity 80 is not acceptable for a majority of our aktiv. I have had a chance to assess the nature of different conflicts within Solidarity—those in Szczecin, in Bydgoszcz, and in Lodz—and I would say that the intensity of the Szczecin conflict is incomparably higher than of those in Bydgoszcz or in Lodz. Our attempts at mediation and conciliation ended in a fiasco for which, in my opinion, Solidarity 80 activists were far more responsible than our side.

[Onichmowski] So how should we interpret the "signal" sent by Walesa?

[Kaczynski] It was, to an extent, a coincidence. In actual fact, the initiative did not originate with Walesa but with the other side, and was indicated through intermediaries. I do not claim that it would be inadvisable to achieve a unification within Solidarity; I simply do not see any realistic chances for such a unification today.

Let me also offer you an explanation in connection with the latest court decision on the registration of Solidarity 80. Of course, we have nothing against the official registration of Jurczyk's and Wadolowski's union—but we do question the name. If they used the name "Unity," or, say, "The Consolidation Party," we would not speak out on the subject at all. I do not question the role of such historic leader figures as Jurczyk, Jaworski, or Wadolowski, but I must ask whether any historic leading figure has the right to use the name "Solidarity" when setting up a new union or other organization.

Internal Affairs Academy To Be Abolished 1 Oct

LD2509134590 Warsaw PAP in English 1254 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—By a decree of September 10, 1990, the Council of Ministers decided to liquidate as of October 1, 1990, the Academy of Internal Affairs here.

The Minister of Internal Affairs decided the buildings that housed the academy (whose liquidation will last till March 31, 1991) would be serving public purposes. Warsaw University will receive the academy's training centre and the building that housed the rector's office will be handed over to the Ministry of Culture and Art.

Having in mind the necessity to organize professional police training, by the same decree the Council of Ministers established a police academy in Szczytno (Olsztyn Voivodship) and Legionowo (near Warsaw). The academy will conduct scientific, research and didactic work. The institute of police training of the police academy will be in Legionowo, other organizational units—in Szczytno.

Fundamental changes will take place in schools for noncommissioned officers. A centre of police training, to be set up in Legionowo, is to be a federation of schools specializing in traffic, criminology, etc. The centre will also prepare candidates for training abroad. The first group of 20 policemen left for France in September 15. Under way are short training courses in the United States. Planned are also courses in Great Britain.

Walesa Spokesman Comments on Mass Media Role

LD2509201190 Warsaw PAP in English 1813 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 25—Spokesman for the Solidarity leader Andrzej Drzycimski conveyed to PAP today the following statement:

"Putting the question of authorizing Lech Walesa's TV appearances by his press spokesman in public forces me to state: I have never interfered with the dispatches in question.

"I think that a full freedom of journalists' expression of opinion must exist, but fundamental moral and professional rules have to be observed.

"I hope that such a role of mass media meets with understanding of the radio and television committee."

Statistical Office Reports Construction Figures

AU2509141790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Sep 90 p 1

['jbl'-signed report: "Are the Walls Going Up?"]

[Text] The Main Statistical Office [GUS] reports that approximately 48,500 dwellings were completed in the first eight months of 1990. This is 7.5 percent fewer than a year ago. Individual enterprise housing projects completed approximately 38.5 percent fewer dwellings and communal projects 21.5 percent fewer. However, cooperative dwelling construction increased.

The average floor area of the new dwellings is 58.9 square meters. In 25 voivodships fewer dwellings were completed in the same period last year. The following voivodships have registered substantial decreases: Krosno (43.4 percent); Zielona Gora (42.4 percent); Skierniewice (39.9 percent); and Warsaw (37 percent).

In the other voivodships more dwellings have been built than in the same period last year.

In August, the socialized sector built 6,000 dwellings. This is a 10.2- percent increase over August 1989.

In the Bielsko, Bialystok, Piotrkow, and Rzeszow Voivodships no dwellings were built in August.

The figures supplied by GUS do not say much in themselves. In the construction industry, where the production cycle lasts several years, one cannot draw any conclusions about the industry—whether it is still in recession or whether it is recovering—from monthly or indeed several months' performance figures.

We know that in the first six months of 1990, not many building enterprises were taking out loans and we shall feel the results of this next year and in the years to come. At present there are more people willing to take out loans (they are less expensive now), but the effects of this will only be felt in two to three years. The August 1990 results from the socialized sector are very encouraging, but they alone are too insignificant to enable one to claim that the housing construction industry is overcoming the crisis.

Polish Premier To Visit U.S. After Spain

LD2609085290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] After completing his visit to Spain, Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki will go to the United States. According to observers, he will make efforts to have the Polish debt in the West radically reduced.

Mazowiecki, Gonzalez Begin Official Talks

LD2509223490 Warsaw PAP in English 1702 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Madrid, Sept. 25—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki started an official visit to Spain today.

After the welcoming ceremony in the seat of the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, a meeting of both prime ministers began.

Meanwhile Spain's cabinet members held talks with members of the Polish delegation: Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki, Secretary of State in the Foreign Ministry Jerzy Makarczyk, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry for Ownership Transformations Krzysztof Lis, Director General in the Office of the Council of Ministers Henryk Wozniakowski, and Poland's Ambassador to Spain Jan Kieniewicz.

The meeting of Prime Ministers Mazowiecki and Gonzalez, their first personal enoucounter, lasted over one-and-a-half hours.

Their roads as politicians have some fundamental features in common, namely both of them came to power after a long political struggle against dictatorial regimes, the struggle which also has some similarities as democratization in Poland and Spain goes on as a historical process without use of violence on the side of democratic forces.

During the Mazowiecki-Gonzalez meeting, the Polish prime minister received the news on the birth of his grandson. The host congratulated him and ordered a bottle of champagne.

Next Prime Minister Mazowiecki and his entourage proceeded to the seat of the Spanish Confederation of Industrialists where they were greeted by chairman of the organization Jose Cuevas.

Following Prime Minister Mazowiecki's meeting with Jose Cuevas a communique was published that reads in part:

"After the talks the Polish prime minister was entertained to a working dinner given by the chairman of the confederation and attended by businessmen representing such sectors as telecommunications, machine, mining and chemical industries, as well as bankers interested in the Polish market.

"The Spanish businessmen and bankers pointed to an urgent need to form a legal and financial framework for both bilateral and multilateral contacts which will permit to expand the economic relations between Spain and Poland.

"The formation of such a framework would facilitate participation of Spanish firms in the processes of privatization and restructuring of industries going on in the Polish economy.

"The Polish prime minister showed interest in the Spanish experience and pointed to Poland's will to develop economic relations with Spain," the communique underlines.

Chairman of the Confederation of Spanish Industrialists Jose Cuevas stated during a meeting with the Polish

Government delegation, that Spain was ready to develop cooperation with Poland. He stressed the interest which numerous Spanish enterprises and capital display towards this cooperation in specific fields.

Second Round of Gonzalez-Mazowiecki Talks

Following the first long face-to-face discussion at noon time, the prime ministers of Poland and Spain met again in the evening. The second round of talks took place at the initiative of Felipe Gonzalez who said he wanted to better acquaint himself with the political and economic situation in Poland.

Earlier, Prime Minister Mazowiecki received representatives of the four biggest political parties of Spain.

In the late evening Gonzalez gave a reception at the Moncloa Palace in honor of the Polish prime minister and Polish Government delegation. It was attended by leading Spanish politicians and businessmen, among them businessmen whom Mazowiecki met earlier in the day in the headquarters of the Confederation of Spanish Industrialists.

During the reception the prime ministers of Poland and Spain delivered toasts.

Prospects for Polish-Scandinavian Cooperation Eyed

PM2509133190 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 8 Sep 90 p 5

[Witold Pawlowski article: "A Distant Shore"]

[Text] Will the Baltic states conference, which was jointly hosted by Poland side by side with Sweden, give us a chance to restore our broken ties with Scandinavia? These ties were rather modest, albeit promising, when, in the early seventies, the first ferryboats were launched to go across the Baltic and the visa-free exchange with Sweden began. It was not until then that we really started to make acquaintance with each other as neighbors, and in the course of this discovery we found many affinities and a desire to get to know each other better. It seemed at the time that the 169 km which separated Swinoujscie from Ystad marked a closeness that ought to bear mutual profit. Joint projects were mooted: for example, to build a north-south superhighway and to introduce commercial schemes that would firmly plant Scandinavian business along our Polish coastline.

In effect, nothing came out of these projects, and the eighties put even more distance between our respective shores and Poland definitively ceased to be treated as a partner with any feasible potential, or even as an exotic spot that merited a curiosity-inspired visit. It is enough to take one look at the ferry harbor in Swinoujscie—the few dingy huts, with no backup facilities, where nothing has changed in the past 20 years, and where you are invariably greeted by the same hard currency tout, the poverty, and the squalor—to realize that it could not have been any different. We had no concept for getting Sweden interested in working with us, or rather we had only one concept, that is, cheap vodka. But this failed to be a strong enough attraction.

Can a definite turnabout be effected now? First of all, it was a good thing that the conference did not restrict its agenda to issuing universally valid slogans on good-neighborliness and love of peace and peaceful existence, but chose a concrete subject instead: the condition of the Baltic and environmental protection. The choice could not have been better. The Scandinavians are united in regarding clean natural environment as an unquestioned supreme value, and their concern over it is equally high—partly because their other needs have already been fulfilled. And if they are ready to enter into cooperation, invest, and loosen their purse strings, it is precisely in this field. The acid rain from our part of Europe, which reaches as far as Norwegian forests; the continuing problems with the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster; the progressive transformation of the Baltic into a sewer: These subjects are not raised as bugbears exclusively by ecologists and the hypersensitive Greens—they are the common public concern of the entire society. And when Stockholm's secondary school students were asked what they associate Poland with, the answer was uniformly identical: with contaminated environment.

Given the Scandinavians' well-known practical approach to problems and their scrupulous application to the tasks in hand, and considering that various report findings suggest that we can expect better results for the environment from capital investment projects carried out on our side of the Baltic rather than their own, we can look forward to many concrete proposals in this area. But is that all we can manage—in a Europe that is our common home?

At best, Vaclav Havel's idea of a northern union connecting Poland and Scandinavia produces smiles of embarrassment on the other side of the Baltic: Such is a measure of its inappropriateness. We had better lower our sights. The Scandinavians are a cautious race, reserved even toward their Western neighbors on the continent, not to mention the (to them) entirely exotic and very largely abstract country like Poland. This is precisely why a spectacular success of at least a few joint undertakings could be the only way to overcome and melt the icy reserve. Poland holds some trump cards too, and its potential—also for its northern neighbors—can be higher than public opinion might expect, the latter blighted as it is by its array of complexes and the sense of powerlessness. However, we must, in turn, come up with ideas to make Poland far more attractive to foreign investment, especially along its north and west borders. We must introduce a system of incentives, privileges, and concessions, but above all we must realize that all such undertakings require well-conceived concepts, marketing strategies, and Scandinavian standards of services and public hygiene. Otherwise we will get nowhere. Moreover, the state itself must involve its own energies

here, since the slender possibilities of our budding capitalists will not be sufficient. The Szczecin and Swinoujscie zone, where borders meet, seems to be particularly predestined to receive such an impact. But also, in addition to all the other current debates, the most important debate of all should begin there: a debate on Poland's future. How, precisely, do we imagine that future to be? How can it be attractive to partners? How should its development be strategically planned according to regional differences, so that the possibilities offered here by the western and northern neighborhood could be put to the best advantage? And if we are to "accelerate," it is first of all here that we should start.

Visa-Free Entry for Germans Commented on

AU2509181690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 22-23 Sep 90 p 1

[Krzysztof Bien commentary: "German Decision, Polish Reply"]

[Text] The decision of the FRG authorities that Polish citizens traveling to the united Germany must have visas is truly painful for us. At a time when other borders in Europe are being opened, this policy is certainly a sad experience for us. But does it justify an eye-for-an-eye reaction from us?

The principle of do unto others as they do unto you is still frequently applied in diplomacy. But politics is more than just diplomacy. Politics should also take state interests into account. In this case, there are major reasons against applying the old regulations, which is what Austria has just done.

These reasons are economic ones. It lies in Poland's interests for as many Germans as possible to come to Poland, if only one kilometer beyond the border, so that they may do their shopping here, because every shopper, whether Pole or German, helps to develop the economic connection, boost production, and find employment for the unemployed. That is how they think in countries with a market economy. And, as we know from reports, that was also what Foreign Trade Ministry representatives wanted when they suggested a sphere of trade along the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] Rivers instead of the frontier posts.

Nevertheless, diplomacy has triumphed over interests.

Neagu Conveys Iliescu Message to UAE President

AU2509153890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1410 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—A press release from the Foreign Ministry shows that in the context of Romania's active participation in efforts to solve the critical situation in the Gulf area and the problems facing it as an outcome of the crisis, a ceremony took place at the presidential palace in Abu Dhabi when a message of friendship, solidarity and cooperation from Romania's President, Mr. Ion Iliescu, was handed over to the president of the United Arab Emirates [UAE], Shaykh Zayid bin-Sultan al-Nahayyan, by presidential envoy Romulus Neagu, secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the government. During the interview, possibilities were looked into of opening cooperation ventures, including oil deliveries to this country, using Romanian crude refining units and, realizing investment in Romania. Romania's contribution to building economic units in the United Arab Emirates was also considered.

Black Sea Resorts Offered for Gulf Troops' Leave

AU2509190690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1831 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—A communique sent to ROMPRES by the Press Office of the government reads: Solid with the action of the states that sent troops to the Gulf area to defuse the conflict created by Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, Romania's Government decided to provide accommodation in first class and deluxe hotels and villas in resorts on the Black Sea shore (Neptun, Eforie Nord, Mangalia, Mamaia) and in Predeal for 3,000-4,000 American, Canadian and British soldiers for sojourns the length of which will be agreed upon jointly with the authorities of the respective states.

Expenses will be paid by the Romanian side also for the wives and children of the officers resting in Romania.

To protect the foreign military recovering in the Romanian resorts, the Romanian specialized bodies will take the necessary measures together with experts of the countries that will accept the invitation.

The Romanian Government's offer was discussed together with the U.S. Ambassador in Bucharest, Alan Green, who has visited the Romanian Black Sea coast this week.

Likewise, the Romanian Government is ready to supply mineral water for the troops involved in the Desert Shield action in the Gulf in conditions set by common agreement.

Turkish Minister of State Dogan Pays Visit

Received by Iliescu

AU2509164990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1525 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—The Romanian president received Mr. Husnu Dogan, minister of state, co-chairman of the Joint Romanian-Turkish Economic Commission, at Cotroceni Palace on Tuesday [25 September].

The talks referred to bilateral relations. The two sides expressed their wish to contribute to intensifying them in all fields.

Roman Receives Dogan

AU2509165190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1538 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—On Tuesday [25 September] Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received Mr. Husnu Dogan, minister of state in the Government of the Republic of Turkey, co-chairman of the Joint Romanian-Turkish Economic Commission the proceedings of which are held in Bucharest.

During the interview agreement was made concerning the change in the structure of bilateral trade exchanges and the establishment of a better trade balance.

Joint Economic Commission Meets

AU2509194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1615 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—The proceedings of the 16th session of the Joint Romanian-Turkish Economic Commission started in Bucharest on Tuesday.

The two delegations, headed by Anton Vatasescu, minister of state, member of Romanian Government, and Husnu Dogan, minister of state, member of Turkish Government, survey the current state of bilateral exchanges, possibilities of further developing Romanian-Turkish economic cooperation in areas of mutual interest.

Amnesty International Delegation Pays Visit

Roman Receives Delegation

AU2509152090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1349 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—On Tuesday, Romania's Prime Minister, Mr. Petre Roman, met with an Amnesty International delegation including Mr. Peter Duffy, president of the International Executive Committee, Mr. Koduvayur Venkatesvaran, reader in the Law School of Belfast, member of Amnesty International, and Mr. Hugh Pulton, researcher in East European affairs in the Amnesty International Secretariat.

The sincere and open talk conducted on the occasion outlined the framework in which Amnesty International works, as well as the evolution of citizens' rights in Romania after the revolution. The delegation had words of appreciation for the achievements in that important area of human rights, for the Romanian policy on an international plane, which materialized in the country's adherence to a number of conventions and treaties. They expressed concern over objective reports on states of

violence and on the way in which they were legally solved as concerned both the events in Tirgu Mures in March and the June 13-15 events in Bucharest.

The prime minister underscored the Romanian Government's irreversible determination to resort to specific instruments of the state of law in all circumstances.

The need was also emphasized for objective reports on situations in the national political life which are relevant for the process of democratizing the country and creating a legal framework in the field of human rights.

Iliescu Receives Delegation

AU2509175590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1526 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—On Tuesday President Ion Iliescu received at the Cotroceni Palace a delegation of the "Amnesty International" headed by Mr. Peter Duffy, chairman of that organisation's International Executive Committee.

Peter Duffy made a survey of the organisation's activity and aims, as well as of the modalities to accomplish them.

President Iliescu presented the situation in Romania after the revolution, emphasising the state's concerns to create a climate adequate for quietness, public order and internal stability with the observance of fundamental human rights and freedoms. In that context, the Romanian president appreciated that in its activity the "Amnesty International" should objectively collect and process information, contribute to the general effort of stabilizing and democratizing the social, economic and political life in Romania.

Iliescu Thanks U.S. Ambassador for 'Intervention'

AU2509190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—During the interview held at the Cotroceni Palace Monday afternoon with Mr. Alan Green Jr., ambassador of the United States of America to Bucharest, Romania's President Ion Iliescu thanked him for his prompt and efficient intervention at the State Department when false items of information had been put out in the press regarding the alleged nonobservance by Romania of the measures adopted by the Security Council in connection with the Gulf crisis.

On the occasion questions were approached concerning Mr. Iliescu's participation in the international summit meeting for children over September 29-30 as well as in the proceedings of the 45th session of the UN General Assembly. Aspects of the bilateral relations were also discussed.

Iliescu Thanks Spain for Support; Stresses Ties

AU2509173790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1618 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—Tuesday morning Romania's President met at Cotroceni Palace with Mr. Antonio Numez Garcia Sauco, Spain's ambassador in Bucharest.

On the occasion Mr. Ion Iliescu requested that thanks be conveyed to the Spanish Government for having supported Romania at the recent ministerial meeting of the Common Market when the decision was made to establish economic and commercial relations with Romania.

The Spanish ambassador stressed that that accord was the first step towards a broader cooperation between the Common Market countries and Romania.

Special attention was paid to bilateral relations with stress on the need and opportuneness of developing them more particularly on a political and economic plane function of the two sides' interests.

Aspects of the democratic transformations occurring in Romania, of the liberalization of the economic system were approached during the dialogue and in that context emphasis was placed on the steps taken to pass on to the market economy, to facilitate the penetration of foreign investors in the Romanian economy.

Participants in Strasbourg Meeting Listed

AU2509144490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1007 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—A Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu has left this morning for Strasbourg to attend a conference on the parliamentary dimension of the CSCE on 26 and 27 September. Through its political spectrum the Romanian delegation is one of the most representative ever sent by Parliament to an international meeting.

These are the major aims of the Romanian parliamentarians: to take part in the discussions of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on the creation of a parliamentary body of the all-European process—the Assembly of Europe—to support Romania's application for special guest status in the Council of Europe and to go to Paris after the Strasbourg conference ends for contacts with French high officials.

The delegation includes Corneliu Manescu, chairman of Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission, a NSF [National Salvation Front—FSN] senator, Ionel Sandulescu, chairman of the Senate's Arts, Culture and Mass Media Commission, NLP [National Liberal Party—PNL] group Senate leader and NLP first vice-president, Ion Ratiu, leader of the National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party Group in the Chamber of Deputies, member of the Foreign Policy Commission and of the

Steering Committee of the Romanian Interparliamentary Union Group, Liviu Muresan, NSF Group leader in the Chamber of Deputies, member of the Foreign Policy Commission and secretary of the Romanian Interparliamentary Union Group, Francisc Baranyi, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies' Commission for Labour, Health, Social Security and the Status of Women in Society, member of the MDUR [Magyar Democratic Union of Romania—UDMR] Group in the Chamber of Deputies, Prof. Dr. Dumitru Teaci, leader of the Agrarian and Socialist Democratic Group in the chamber of deputies, first vice president of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania, Prof. Dr. Mihai Golu, NSF member of the Constitutional Commission, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies' Education, Science, Youth and Sports Commission, Prof. Dr. Mihai Balanescu, leader of the Ecological and Social Democratic Group in the Chamber of Deputies, vice-president of the Ecological Movement of Romania, Ingmar Brandsch, member of the Chamber of Deputies' Commission for Human Rights, Religious and Minorities Affairs, a German Democratic Forum deputy and member of the Steering Committee of the Romanian Interparliamentary Union Group.

Nation Joins International Financial Corporation

AU2509165290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1001 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—On September 23 the minister of finance, Mr. Teodor Stolojan, signed the accord for Romania to become the 138th member of the International Finance Corporation [IFC].

The International Finance Corporation, affiliated to the World Bank, was set up in 1955 to promote the economic development of its member countries by encouraging private productive enterprises, completing thus the activities carried on by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Romania's adherence to the IFC will contribute to the development and consolidation of the private sector in the conditions of speeding up the process of transition to the market economy, of demonopolizing and decentralizing the economic activity.

The signing ceremony was attended by Sir William Ryrie, first vice president of the corporation, Mr. Douglas Gustafson, director of the Europe Department, Mr. Paul Arlman, executive director representing Romania at the IBRD.

Trade Minister Fota on Foreign Trade Priorities

AU2509143790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0914 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—In the new conditions Romania promotes in actual fact, instead of in declarations, a foreign economic policy of wide opening to all countries, has recently stated Constantin Fota, minister of commerce and tourism, in an interview with the weekly "GLOBUL" ["The Globe"].

Starting from this general principle, the minister stressed certain priorities, from the preoccupation to keep at a highest possible level the exchanges with the neighbour countries "based on mutual, real and major economic interests" instead of "the community of system" as it used to be. We intend to agree with these countries mechanisms conducive to "a satisfactory flow of goods and services" as well as to "the turning of the CMEA into a new-type organization, to suit the conditions of the market economy."

Connected with Romania's rejoining Europe, the minister stated that "by a wide opening of the Romanian economy to these countries we can achieve Romania's rejoining Europe not only economically but also culturally and socially." The respondent remembered "Romania's known intention to join the EEC." For the time being, he showed, "we intend that the agreement negotiated with the Common Market be ratified and put into operation." In that context, the minister showed that "we also want to establish closer relations with the European Free Trade Association." Another priority, the minister said, is "the remaking of better relations with North America generally, with the U.S." with special reference to "the current legal framework of the Romanian-American relations which is not the one we want." The minister hoped that the "future evolution will be of a nature to give new and positive support to the American authorities' stand on granting Romania the most favoured nation status." The minister also expressed special interest in expanding the relations with the technologically powerfully developing economies in Asia, like Japan, South Korea, China, etc., and with the developing countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa.

PNL Delegation Attends Budapest Seminar

AU2509144690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1012 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—At the invitation of Hungary's Democratic and Liberal Alliance and of Neumann Foundation in West Germany, an international seminar was held over September 21-23 in Budapest, bringing together the liberal parties in European countries. The seminar's theme was European security and the situation of ethnic minorities. Although he was specially invited, NLP [National Liberal Party—PNL] Chairman Radu Campeanu couldn't attend because of his activity in the Senate. The NLP delegation was made up of Marian Bivolaru, a deputy for Maramures, Mihai Carp, a deputy for Bihor and Silvia Lupu, NLP chairman's office chief, a communique of NLP's press office shows.

Minister of State Vatasescu Leaves for Moscow

AU2509190390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1816 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—Mr. Anton Vatasescu, minister of state, left for Moscow on Tuesday [25 September] afternoon, heading a governmental delegation. In the Soviet capital he will have talks with decision-makers, on a series of aspects of bilateral relations.

Deputies Assembly Discusses Human Rights

AU2509152490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1330 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—The Assembly of Deputies resumed its second session in plenum this morning. The session unanimously approved the debates on the draft laws on the ratification of the convention on child rights, Romania's adhesion to the convention against torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, the amendment of dispositions amendment of Decree-Law No. 100/1990 on the appointment or change of names, the abrogation of provisions under Decree 376/1981 on the creation of the industrial-agrarian centres of Motru and Rovinari, Gorj County, and of the economic and administrative directorates of Motru and Rovinari, employment terms according to competence.

The Assembly of Deputies kept a moment's silence to commemorate nine months since the December revolution and then started discussing the items in the agenda.

Peace Alliance Forum Opens Session 24 Sep

AU2509152290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1353 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—Romania's Peace Alliance Forum opened in Bucharest on Monday, September 24. That is the first social organization set up after the December '89 revolution (it acquired legal status on January 3). The forum groups together cultural, scientific, economic, educational and religious personalities, representatives of all social categories and professions, of the church, of other democratic organizations, of the nationalities in Romania.

The report and the addresses stressed that the activity of this organization should be based on irenology [as received], the science of peace, and the forum is a non-political, autonomous and really democratic organization, open to any peace lover. As has been emphasized, the alliance is an altogether new organization and expresses no group interests. It intends to promote the highest moral values, to fight violence, to stimulate tolerance and reconciliation through dialogue based on mutual respect and trust.

Student Leader Munteanu on Current Situation

AU2509132290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Sep 90 p 6

[Interview with Marian Munteanu, chairman of the Bucharest University Students' League, by Zoltan Abram in Bucharest; date not given; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Public opinion learned about Marian Munteanu not as the head of the Students' League, but as the image of Christ' sufferings, and Munteanu's arrest led to a strong international protest. Three months after the events, his health is returning, and he also continues his opposition activity: On 9-10 September, he initiated rapprochement talks in Brasov with Miron Cosma, head of the "free" trade union of the Jiu Valley miners who beat him and his friends up to such an extent that they had to be hospitalized. These days, Marian Munteanu meets with various organizations and officials, plans the activity of the Students' League, and occasionally, he engages in politics. But let him talk about this himself.

[Abram] Let us begin with your release from prison.

[Munteanu] That was a long time ago, and I have already forgotten about it.

[Abram] What came next?

[Munteanu] I have been under constant medical treatment, I am taking a lot of medicine, and I try to regain my strength in order to continue my activity.

[Abram] What are the tasks of the Students' League?

[Munteanu] We are still in the organizational phase and we try to improve our structure. The times of the December romantics are over, and we now must face reality and our possibilities.

Many more students have been accepted to the University this year; therefore, we must also be prepared to encounter social problems. The university year starts on 1 October and we are already preparing for it.

[Abram] Will the various universities be autonomous in the country?

[Munteanu] The various institutions of higher education are basically trying to achieve real autonomy, and our League strongly supports this trend. As a first step, the students should be involved in the structure and operation of the self-governing bodies—the so-called senates—and then regulations should be worked out for the limits and characteristics of this autonomy.

[Abram] How did it feel to sit down together with the representatives of those who attacked you?

[Munteanu] From the very beginning, I declared that these people are not innocent, and they are guilty to a certain extent for the events, but their crime is minimal in comparison with that of the ideological leaders of that

confrontation. Personally, I do not mind the whole thing, because many people have been beaten, now or at other times. I regard this as an unfortunate fact and I stick to discovering the truth.

[Abram] What guarantees the fact that your negotiating partners in Brasov have indeed understood the reality? You seem to be too well-meaning.

[Munteanu] I took a step. I held my hand out to them and they accepted my invitation and came to the meeting. It is true that we negotiated for two days, but they finally admitted their guilt, and their desire to find out the truth seemed to be honest. I hope that this is really so.

[Abram] You have a joint task of easing the social and interethnic tensions. What will your next step be in this direction?

[Munteanu] We would like to organize new joint meetings. I believe in human forgiveness, the desire to become morally clean, and in the power to help each other. People must tear down the walls that separate them and must find the way to approach each other.

[Abram] Your words show that you are religious. What does faith mean to you?

[Munteanu] Faith means the basic manifestation of spirit, a basic characteristic without which we are very poor. Having this faith, however, we become accomplished.

Oprea Testifies at Former RCP Leaders' Trial

AU2509151890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1343 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—The Bucharest Military Tribunal continues the investigations of ex-members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] on genocide charges.

Defendant Gheorghe Oprea was heard Monday 24 September.

The defendant who attended on 17 December a meeting of the Standing Bureau of the Executive Political Committee and the committee's plenary meeting, both of which were chaired by Nicolae Ceausescu, is accused to have approved, along with all participants, the repression of the Timisoara revolution by means of fire arms.

During the criminal inquiry, the defendant said in his statements that Ceausescu had ordered the use of fire arms against the "hooligans" in Timisoara as he called them, and that each of the participants agreed. He admitted that although Ceausescu had referred to hooligans and declasse elements only, he realized that peaceful demonstrators were also involved since that alone could explain the joint intervention of the Army and the repressive force of the Ministry of the Interior and of the State Security Department.

When the defendant's house was searched a rifle was found which he held illegally. He was therefore charged with violation of the fire-arms law.

Gheorghe Oprea denied all accusations against him. In connection with the genocide charge he said on December 17, 1989 he had not been aware of the true dimensions of the events in Timisoara. "We were not informed of what was going on in the country. Day and night I was concerned solely with the economic problems I was in charge with and the reports that reached us contained no palpable data for us to assess the exact scope of the events. Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu alone received detailed items of information; they had a heap of reports on their desks but they never informed us of their content," the defendant stated.

He denied the second count, too, saying the weapon he had, which had been a present from the mechanics enterprise in Cugir, had neither a cartridge nor ammunition, he had never used it and he had not realized he needed an authorization to keep it.

Shortly after the December 17, 1989 meeting of the Executive Political Committee, Gheorghe Oprea left for Turkey to take part in the proceedings of a session of the Joint Romanian-Turkish Commission so that on December 22 he was in Ankara.

"Although I found out about the events in the country from reports in the Turkish press, radio and television," he said, "I did not hesitate to come back to Romania. In my interviews to Turkish journalists after Ceausescu's escape I expressed full accord to the cause and ideals of the revolution firmly rejecting suggestions that I should ask for political asylum in Turkey and thus shun the possible consequences of my return to the country. I was prompted to do so by my belief in the Romanian people's sense of justice."

The court adjourned until September 26.

Losses Caused by Constanta Port Strike Reported

AU2509144890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0738 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—The units under the Department of Metallurgical Industry have been directly affected by the strike in the Port of Constanta, incurring considerable loss as raw materials could not be carried from the port and ships arrived with delay and also delayed the unloading-loading operations. The loss is estimated to a daily 3,300,000 dollars (some 66,000,000 lei).

Idleness of the Romanian ships and refusal to operate the foreign ships caused a daily loss of 2,275,000 dollars to the export of metallurgical products.

The extension of the strike may cause at any time the standstill of the coke batteries that are short of coal. This would have very grave material and human consequences.

Private Publishers Association Established

AU2509144990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0845 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1990—On September 23, 1990, in Bucharest, at the headquarters of "SEMNALUL" ["The Signal"] Publishing House, the first all-country conference was held of private publishers and printing workers. Present were representatives of the Romanian and foreign press.

The conference decided upon the setting up of Romania's Private Publishers' and Printworkers' Association, a professional, non-governmental, independent and non-political body dealing with technical-economic and administrative legal matters, that should promote and protect private initiative.

The association's statute was adopted and Claudian Paunica, an economist and journalist, was elected president. The executive body of the association was also voted.

* Army in Transylvania Calls for Unity

90BA0302A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 29 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Appeal of the Army in Transylvania"]

[Text] ROMPRES has received the following appeal for publication:

Aware of the mission of the Army in our society and as ever faithful to the country and the Romanian people, we, the military men of all ranks in Transylvania, from simple soldier to general, believe that our honor and dignity obligate us to address the following appeal to all the people:

1. At this time when, with broken hearts, we commemorate the painful 50th anniversary of the criminal act of mutilation of Greater Romania in violation of all the norms of justice and international law and of respect for historical truth, we call on all the people who feel, believe, and think as Romanians, to work for unity, sound and determined actions, vigilance and reason, in order to rise to the occasion of the present historical moment.

2. We want to particularly call on the Romanian intelligentsia, whom the Army appreciates and values at its true value, and the majority of which is made up of military reserve officers, to rise above partisan interests and to put above everything else the fate and destiny of this nation, which has asserted itself and survived throughout history thanks to the wisdom of ideas put forth by enlightened minds.

At the same time, the true intellectuals have always been on the side of the people and shared their troubles and pain, which they expressed in various cultural forms to give solace to all of us.

3. Romanian youth, you who have paid the heaviest blood toll for the victory of the December 1989 Revolution, we ardently call to you to show civic maturity, not to let yourselves be deceived by partisan factions, and to correctly understand the most urgent requirements of the present, which is work, competence, and unity around the great ideals of the country: freedom, democracy, sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

You must realize that foreign countries will never make any disinterested gesture to pull Romania out of its impasse; our only means of returning to the dignified place that we deserve in Europe and in the world are the dedicated and united efforts of all the sons of the fatherland, especially the young people.

4. We want to call on the workers, peasants, functionaries, and citizens of all professions and occupations who were always the mass support and strength of the Army and who suffered the most throughout history, including the bloody year of 1940, to join their actions and thoughts to the other forces, so that this nation will never again be humiliated and brought down to its knees.

5. We call on the inhabitants of Romania's capital city to realize that Transylvania's problems, which intensely concern us at the present, are major problems for the entire country and must be resolved in a climate of responsibility, calm, understanding, peace, and order that we hope will emanate from Bucharest; we call on them not to fall prey to the maneuvers of those who try to divert the nation's attention to unessential issues.

6. In view of the fact that the Army incorporates all Romanian citizens, regardless of ethnic origin, religious faith, or political beliefs, we are aware of the fact that we must be—and we will be—in the forefront of the struggle aimed at ensuring that each person enjoys the same rights and has the same obligations and duties. We are in favor of full recognition of the legitimate rights of Romanian citizens of other ethnic origins and of their faith and traditions, but we cannot respond to separatist aspirations and demands for privileges as aspects of human rights or as a process capable of ensuring peaceful and prosperous coexistence among all.

7. We are firmly convinced that all the fatherland's sons serving in the Army share the beliefs of the troops in Transylvania. Consequently, we call on the entire Army to ensure unity of will and action, so that no tragic events, like the one we commemorate with pain at this sad end of August, can ever be repeated in Romania's history.

We want to take this opportunity to assure the Romanian people that we, the troops of the Romanian Army in Transylvania, fully understand the paramount role of the Army to defend our ancestral and sacred land between its natural boundaries, that we militate for stability in all the areas and to defend the legal state, and that we are prepared to go into action in any circumstance to justify the people's faith in us and to ensure their peace inside the country and at its borders.

Commanding officer, Major General Paul Cheler

*** Need for Intelligence Service Stressed**

90BA0302C Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 30 Aug 90 p 2

[Major General (R) Dumitru I. Dumitru, former chief of the Directorate of Internal Affairs, report]

[Text] As was only to be expected, after the Revolution, one of the institutions most exposed to public denunciation and most in need for overall restructuring was the former Ceausescu securitate.

As a retired officer and former chief of the DIA [Directorate for Internal Affairs], I followed with interest what was said and written on this topic—and please believe me, I have no reasons (on the contrary!) to plead in favor of that defunct institution... Nevertheless, some of the aspects of this issue, which is both complex and complicated, must be clarified, especially since, while the former securitate is naturally being rejected, there are many confusions, misunderstandings, and mistakes that can only be harmful to the Romanian democratic state and its institutions.

Thus, certain periodicals and dailies have published many—and very harsh!—items which make no distinction between the former Ceausescu securitate and the new special body of the democratic state, the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI]. I find it difficult to believe that this confusion is the result of a conscious and tendentious distortion of the reality (although such a hypothesis is not to be ruled out); I prefer to accept the explanation that some things are not known or are unclear... Namely, the people who waste ink on this issue seem to ignore the fact that there is no country in the world that doesn't have one or several intelligence and counterintelligence services.

Thus, it should be realized that, especially at the present historic time, the exercise of leadership is inconceivable at any level in the absence of two basic elements: a program, and a reservoir of complete and current information concerning all the areas of decisionmaking. In every ecountry, the necessary information and reports are provided by special services, whose activities are systematically focused on precisely the areas in which the act of leadership is exercised, and for which they secure the indispensable conditions for fulfilling the program established: topicality, competitiveness, and realism.

Information is knowledge, and without knowledge one is condemned to stagnate and regress in the contemporary world; because of the growing importance of information for decisionmaking and governing, the role of intelligence services is not only not decreasing, but on the contrary, is becoming increasingly vital for the machinery of a modern state. This is not even a recent phenomenon: I recall, for example, that in one of his orders to the Army, Marshall Ion Antonescu, the head of state, appealed to the people to contribute interesting data and information to help preserve and defend the security of the state.

It should also be known that throughout the world, espionage services are now busier than ever, so to speak... Especially now, when our country is experiencing domestic and foreign conflict and destabilization, we are under the increased scrutiny of foreign espionage services—in accordance with the principle, often asserted by professionals in the area, that when it comes to espionage, there is no such thing as a "friend." And one of the corrolaries of this "principle" is that counterespionage is a vitally necessary activity. This is the mission that, despite all the inherent risks and the serious handicap(created by the dismantling of the former securitate), has been assumed by the recently established SRI.

This kind of service, we must also know, carries out primarily preventive activities and has nothing to do with the terror and generalized suspicion practiced by some of the members of the former securitate at the orders of the dictator. To efficiently combat espionage activities, the service employees must behave bravely and unhesitatingly in the line of duty; any exaggeration, vulgarization, or improvisation in counterespionage activities risks incriminating innocent people, causing damages to the country, and revealing the concerns of the service to genuine spies.

Consequently, I thought it opportune that both those who believe what they read in foreign publications and those who comment on this topic in our own press, should grasp that the development of a legal, independent, and democratic state undisputably requires the existence of special services, appropriately organized and equipped.

It seems to me that the SRI has furnished sufficient information about itself at the press conferences it held, nevertheless... Who would find it useful to know where the units of this service are deployed?—to cite only one example. It should be remembered that neither the CIA, the DSI, the Intelligence Service [last two words in English in the text], nor (or even less so) the KGB provide such "details."

Consequently, in whose interest is it to open the service up to public examination, as has been suggested in some articles appearing in the EXPRESS, "22," and other similar publications?

Defense Ministry Denies Delivering Planes to Iraq

AU2609103090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Text] Disregarding the facts and despite several official statements issued by various federal bodies that Yugoslavia is consistently complying with all the obligations ensuing from the UN Security Council resolutions in respect of Iraq and Kuwait, some foreign and malicious domestic circles continue to express doubts that Yugoslavia is complying with the said resolutions.

Within the series of completely untrue and tendentious insinuations there is one in particular that speculates about the Iraqi airplanes which found themselves in Yugoslavia for an overhaul when the Gulf crisis broke out.

In this connection, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has announced that not one single one of the Iraqi planes that were being overhauled has been delivered since the crisis in the Gulf broke out and that there will be no deliveries—not only as regards the said airplanes but also as regards anything else—so long as the Security Council's resolutions are in force.

The obligations arising from the Security Council resolutions are being strictly complied with, it is said at the end of the statement issued by the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

Bulgaria Issues Protest Note on Border Incident

AU2509145490 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 90 p 2

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Protest by the Bulgarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep—Milenko Stefanovic, Yugoslav ambassador in Sofia, was handed a sharp protest note at the Bulgarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs concerning an incident on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border (on 15 September) in which Yugoslav border guards killed two Bulgarian citizens. The protest note stresses that the incident could have been resolved without the use of arms or that it could have ended with less serious consequences for the Bulgarian citizens considering that they were not armed and that they were only involved in petty smuggling.

Ambassador Stefanovic expressed his regret concerning the incident and told the Bulgarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs that he will brief the Yugoslav Government on the note.

Federal Chamber Discusses Agriculture, Borders

LD2509185390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The first session of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces following the summer break was dominated by two exceptionally topical subject matters: agriculture and the issue of "closed borders."

It was known as far back as the beginning of August that agriculture would be on the agenda since the delegations of Serbia and Vojvodina insisted on the debate in light of, as they see it, the federal government's inadequate attention to the one of the key economic sectors, i.e. agriculture. The two delegations made their endorsement for the so-called second packet of reformist laws conditional on additonal measures to stimulate agriculture. The chamber accepted this and the August session was able to resume today.

Dr. Budimir Kosutic (Serbia) asked the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces to suggest to the Federal Chamber, as the competent body, to look into the "cases and the tendency of closing borders as if the borders between the republics were borders between sovereign and separate states." He invoked the Constitution, which guaranteees the freedom of movement and residence, stressing that the law could impose restrictions only if persons are under criminal investigation or when it is necessary to protect the country's public order and defense.

Not a single of these conditions existed on 16 September (the day of tribute to Jasenovac victims). Neither the Croat Constitution nor the republic's internal affairs regulations provide for the closure of borders in these circumstances, Kosutic insisted.

On behalf of the Croat delegation Djuro Vidmarovic asked the chamber to reject Serbia's proposal "regarding the incident at Jasenovac." The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia acted in line with inter-republic agreement, he added. [passage omitted]

In his introductory notes Dr. Stevo Mirjanic, federal agriculture secretary, said the Federal Executive Council [FEC] will not give up [words indistinct] in this sphere. As we see it agriculture must develop at an equal footing with other sectors. In a market economy agriculture will face competition, but at the same time it will be protected from disorder.

In addition to the measures which have already produced results by halting negative tendencies, the government has also outlined a packet of new [words indistinct] effects of this year's drought and has secured funds for autumn sowing and crop purchases. [Words indistinct] we must also reexamine long-term strategy goals. [Word indistinct] no reform is possible without the transformation of ownership relations, Stevo Marjanic said in conclusion, adding that this is the area where the delay had been the longest. [passage omitted]

At the end of a two-hour debate the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces adopted a set of conclusions on the situation in agriculture in which the FEC latest measures were described as reflecting the difficult situation in that area but as being at the same time inadequate

in the long term. The federal government was therefore called upon to propose long-term measures conducive to the successful development of agriculture in the country. [passage omitted]

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces today also adopted, as an interim measure, a law on financing the federation. Under this law the surplus from last year's federal budget final account to the tune of 549.6 million dinars will be distributed to the republics and provinces for pensions and disability allowances.

The chamber also verified a law on special turnover tax to finance the Yugoslav People's Army in the current year. This law cancels the interim measure, which has so far regulated the tax for financing the Yugoslav People's Army.

Special federal turnover taxes will be collected from the territory of the entire country. The total revenue will be "syphoned" into the federal budget. The turnover tax will amount to between three and five percent on goods and between five and 20 percent on service. [passage omitted]

Problems arising from Iraqi and Kuwaiti' debts to Yugoslav firms was included as an additional item on the agenda for today's session. This was done at the proposal of Ljiljana Stanisic (Bosnia-Hercegovina) who reminded the chamber that she asked for a reply to this question as far back as last March but that no response had been forthcoming from the FEC.

Aleksandar Mitrovic, FEC vice president, informed the delegates about the difficulties surrounding our efforts to recover about $900 million, or rather one billion, $300,000 due to be paid in the current year. According to him the loss for cancelling existing contracts for deals in the Gulf will amount to about $3.3 billion. [passage omitted]

The FEC vice president informed the delegates about the set of measures the government had taken to compensate the firms affected by the crisis in the Gulf. First, it was proposed that such firms be spared bankruptcy procedure if, as a result, they incur losses. In addition, negotiations are underway with Jubmes [Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation] and commercial banks to give such firms a grace period for meeting their commitments. Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets in Yugoslav have been frozen.

The chamber of the Republics and provinces asked the FEC immediately, and by the next session at the latest, to come up with concrete measures within its competence to help the recovery of those firms affected by Iraq's failure to pay its debt.

The chamber also asked the FEC to prepare a report by the next session on measures it will have taken or plans to take to alleviate the damage caused by the situation in the Gulf.

Presidency Supports Military Service Changes

LD2509151690 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] The Yugoslav Presidency, at a session chaired by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, discussed some questions on the management and command of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, as well as the functioning of the military service system.

It was decided that existing solutions in the military service system should be developed, and, to this end, the Yugoslav Presidency supported the proposals to activate changes and addenda to the law on military service to make this system more effective.

The SFRY Presidency also considered reports on the events in connection with the banning of citizens' access to the memorial complex in Jasenovac on 16 September by police in the Republic of Croatia. Stressing on this occasion the vital need to respect consistently the freedoms and rights guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution, a constituent part of which is the freedom of movement of citizens, the SFRY Presidency considers all those actions which destroy these rights in united Yugoslav territory to be unacceptable.

Discusses Conscription Law

AU2509154090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has discussed some issues involving the command and leadership of our country's Armed Forces and, within this framework, the functioning of the conscription system.

It was assessed that the existing provisions in the conscription system should be augmented. The SFRY Presidency endorsed a proposal for an initiative to be launched to change and supplement the law on conscription in order to make this system more effective.

The Presidency discussed a report on events concerning the ban on citizens entering the memorial complex in Jasenovac on 16 September which was applied by the Croatian militia. Once again stressing the necessity of consistently respecting the freedoms and laws that are guaranteed by the Constitution of Yugoslavia, a part of which is citizens' freedom of movement, the SFRY Presidency considers as unacceptable all those actions which violate these rights on unified Yugoslav territory.

BORBA To Return; Financial Problems Unresolved

LD2509173390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—After a two-day break, BORBA will reappear on newsstands tomorrow, the director of the BORBA journalistic and publishing enterprise, Ivan Mrdjen, told TANJUG.

Material problems jeopardizing the survival of this federal paper have not been permanently resolved, despite the fact that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] yesterday approved from the federal budget 3 million dinars worth of aid to BORBA. These are, in fact, the regular monthly BORBA funds for November and December.

Thanks to yesterday's financial injection, the normal work of the paper is secured for the time being. However, BORBA is forced to draw in advance from its November and December funds, although it has not yet repaid its July debts, Mrdjen said, illustrating the paper's difficult financial situation.

Yesterday's meeting with Ante Markovic, FEC president, reached an agreement on long-term measures which should ensure a more stable financial future for this paper. The FEC Secretariat for Information and the Federal Secretariat for Finances, among other institutions, were charged with specific tasks.

A possibility is being considered that the other 11 enterprises, former organizations of associated labor within the BORBA enterprise, will help BORBA to survive until the end of the year.

It is envisaged that after 1 January, BORBA will become a mixed enterprise, part of which will be sold off, Mrdjen explained. He added that today's session of the workers' council of the BORBA social printing enterprise proposed that the newspaper be printed until 10 October. In the meantime, ways of permanently financing it must be found.

Members of the workers' council distanced themselves from part of a letter which the director of the BORBA journalistic and printing enterprise sent to the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic. They stressed that the decision made by the printing enterprise to cancel its services to BORBA was not made under pressure, but out of purely economic reasons.

New Parties, Associations Federally Registered

LD2509161590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration today registered three more political parties: the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove]; the People's Peasant Party [Narodna Seljacka Stranka]; and the Serbian St. Sava Party [Srpska Svetosavska Stranka], all Belgrade-based.

The secretariat also registered the Belgrade-based Federation of Reserve Officers [Savez Rezervnih Vojnih Staresina] and the Varazdin-based Yugoslav Union for Transcendental Meditation [Jugoslovenski Savez za Transcedentalnu Meditaciju] as social organizations, and the Belgrade-based "Serbian Knights" Association for the Protection of Citizens [Udruzenje za Zastitu Gradjana "Srpski Vitezovi"] as a citizens' association.

In line with the federal law on citizens' associations, 17 political parties, five social organisations and six citizens' associations have been registered so far, the Federal Executive Council Secretariat for Information announces.

Croatia Issues Formal Confederation Agreement

AU2209184590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Sep 90 p 19

[Unattributed report: "For the Time Being, Croatia Expects To Deal With Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] Signed in....., on 1990
For the Republic of Croatia .....
For the Republic of Slovenia .....
For the Republic of .....
For the Republic of .....

This is the end of the Croatian version of the proposal of the confederate agreement of the union of states, that the Croats call the Union of Yugoslav States (or) the Union of the States of Southeastern Europe. (We received this version through our Zagreb channels.) This already makes one feel that the proposal made by the neighboring republic is more specific than the Slovene one. It offers clear solutions and is not written as a possibility for different possibilities. The Croatian leadership has obviously decided to offer a document which sets the foundations of a vision of a confederate setup, but that still does not mean that it excludes all debate on different possibilities. It only means that this paper is a basis through which one would seek solutions acceptable for other partners in the agreement.

The proposal of the confederate agreement consists of 11 pages and begins with a preamble which contains basic principles on the basis of which individual republics decide to join in a union of states. However, members of the union of states and signatories of the agreement may be only those states which have democratic parliamentary setups based on free, multiparty, and secret elections (this proposal obviously expects Bosnia-Hercegovina to be the third partner, because so far it is closest to democratic transformation). Further on, the confederate proposal envisages that the member states have their own armed forces although a part of these forces is under the command of the union. The union would represent a unified customs area, a common market, and a common monetary area.

Concerning the organs of the confederation, the agreement envisages the main organs of the union to be a consultative parliament, a council of ministers, an Executive Commission, and a confederal court. The consultative parliament would be composed of representatives of the member states of the union and would perform consultative and control functions which proceed from

the agreement. The parliament would meet four times a year and make decisions by an absolute majority. The council of ministers would be composed of one representative from each of the member states of the union. It would adopt decisions by consensus and would decide all questions proceeding from the confederate agreement. The Executive Commission would take care of the implementation of aims proceeding from the agreement. It would be composed of 70 members who would be appointed by agreement between the governments of the member states of the union. Members of the commission would perform their duties independently and in the joint interest of the union. The confederal court would be obliged to take care of legality in interpreting and implementing the agreement and its addenda. Any member state of the union may approach the court if it thinks that another member state has not performed the duties which proceed from the agreement, as well as any real or legal person which would have the right to file charges against a decision or a general act which applies to it and which was adopted by the Council of Ministers or the Executive Commission.

Concerning the setup of the unified defense union, the proposal of the agreement envisages that the basic principle is an accord among the member states of the union and that an attack against one of them is an attack against all.

Concerning foreign affairs, it is envisaged that the member states of the union may have independent or common diplomatic or consular missions abroad.

The final decisions say that after 10 (or five?) years of being in force, the member states of the union will be able to demand the revision of the agreement or dissolution of the union. Before that term, the states may—individually or jointly—demand the dissolution of the union or secession from it if they wanted to join the European Community.

Zagreb Claims Poisoning of Albanians Continues

LD2509162790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The situation in Kosovo is becoming increasingly tense. The murder of innocent people and the ill-treatment and laying off of Albanian workers are a daily phenomenon. Since the implementation of the unconstitutional and illegal measures of the Serbian Assembly, 560 Albanian workers have been laid off from the organs of the administration, and in some municipalities like Podujevo and [word indistinct] in which [word indistinct] about 90 percent of Albanian homes have been left without a single worker who is Albanian in the administration. As our correspondent Bedzet Baraljiu reports, it is obvious that in Kosovo Albanians are not accepting (?the decisions) of the Serbian Assembly. In the Trepca mine at Stari Trg more than 2,400 workers of Albanian nationality responded to an invitation to [go to] Pristina to the management's offices of this enterprise. All of them have now been sacked. The situation in the Kosovo giant, Trepca, is very difficult. As a result of their participation in the general strike in this collective, 435 workers have been sacked and one payment for expenses has been deducted from the pay of 600 workers. News has also emerged from this collective that 1,200 workers at the Olova refinery have been on strike since 12th of this month because personal incomes have not been paid to them by [word indistinct]. The situation is also becoming exacerbated in schools in Kosovo. Serbian police forces have forcibly taken the daily expenses from the Podujevo Grammar School, because the Albanian teachers are not keeping their accounts in accordance with Serbian (?regulations). [passage omitted]

Unfortunately at the beginning of the new school year in Kosovo, there has been a repeat of last year's poisoning of Albanian pupils. Today the situation was also dreadful in the Vuk Karadzic primary school in Pristina, where signs of poisoning appeared among several children.

Pristina's JEDINSTVO, generally does not carry details of repression by the Serbian authorities Kosovo, but today it writes that after the opening the investigation against seven former officials of Kosovo, a warrant has been issued for their arrest, but it says they fled before criminal charges were brought against them. This paper even attacks the Kosovo Assembly delegate (?Ekrem Bukeri), who died two days ago in Maribor. The circumstances of his death are unknown.

New Members of SDS Desire Talks With Croats

AU2509144090 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 90 p 5

[M. Curuvija report: "Is Vuk Conquering Knin?"]

[Text] Knin—After all that has happened in the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], the question is asked whether that party has become susceptible to political tremors. That is why it is necessary for us to recall the brief statements its leaders made after the session of the party's Executive Committee.

The first one to speak up in public was Jovan Raskovic, who thanked the former party officials for everything they had done for the party. Therefore, the SDS's spiritual leader did not criticize Zelenbaba, Opacic, and Peric for their work, at least not in public.

Speaking about the former party associates, the other prominent member of the SDS, Milan Babic, said that they had not been enjoying the confidence of the party leadership since the affair concerning the publication of the transcript of the talks between Tudjman and Raskovic which caused them to demand Raskovic's resignation.

Zelenbaba said himself that for reasons of principle he did not want to make specific remarks about the work of the SDS, although he did say that he disagreed with the policy carried out by the Main Committee. However, Opacic and Peric have very vehemently attacked the way

the party policy has been carried out. Thus, Peric, vice president of the SDS Main Committee, said that all important decisions were made exclusively by individuals and not by bodies set up for that purpose.

Jovan Opacic said: "Those people whom I personally admitted to the SDS have now kicked me out." Opacic still remains the most disputable and enigmatic person in the conflicts within the SDS. He has never said in public that he will be a harbinger of Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement. Some people have said so, and he did not exclude that possibility either. Nevertheless, if that happens, that is, if he founds a branch of the Serbian Renewal Movement in Knin, there is the question of how many followers he is going to have. The Knin people, particularly the supporters and many members of the SDS, have been taken by surprise with all these most recent events in connection with the current resignations. However, if one is to judge from the latest issue of Belgrade DUGA (which has been completely sold out here) which, among other things, carries a lengthy interview with Vuk Draskovic, it seems that Opacic will not remain alone, particularly if one recalls his statement that he is going to remain on the political scene.

Some new people have joined the top SDS leadership, and they include Dr. Vojislav Vukcevic who, along with the SDS Executive Committee, says that it is necessary to hold talks with the Croatian Democratic Community, the Croatian leadership, as well as with other parties in Croatia.

Chetniks Disrupt Belgrade Reform Alliance Meeting

AU2609085190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 90 p 4

[Unattributed BORBA report: "Ovations and Whistles"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The promotion of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [SRSJ] in Belgrade was a success. The room in the Youth Hall was too small to hold more than 1,000 people, members, and sympathizers. The general impression was that this meeting had brought a glimmer of hope to people who believe that the future can be built on wider concepts than national programs.

Despite a group of about 30 rabble-rousers who presented themselves as Serbian Chetniks, led by Vojislav Seselj, and tried to disrupt this meeting by whistling, yelling, singing, and waving party flags, the meeting ended successfully.

The Belgrade people who had gathered at this first promotional meeting of the SRSJ in Belgrade and Serbia were addressed by Aleksandar Mitrovic, Tomislav Ognjanovic, Zivko Pregl, Radosin Rajovic, Rade Serbedzija, Nebojsa Popov, Stojan Andov, Vesna Pesic, Josip Pejakovic, Mirko Kovac, Slavko Milosavleski, Ivan Djuric, Zaharije Trnavcevic, Veton Suroi, Bosko Kovacevic, and Dzevad Sokolovic. [passage omitted]

"Silence Chetniks"

When the chairman of the meeting in the Youth Hall announced that Veton Suroi would speak and when he moved toward the rostrum, this seemed to be the signal for members of the Serbian Chetnik Movement to start toward the stage and the area behind the rostrum in the Youth Hall. With unprecedented yelling, they made their way through to the part of the rostrum in front of the rostrum behind which Suroi was standing with the obvious intention of starting a fight. Then a member of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, who had scrupulously been taking photographs the whole evening, swung round and threw his camera toward Veton Suroi with horrifying and by no means concealed fury and a stream of abuse. However, the camera hit Mirko Kovac and cut his head. In the general furor that arose, Nebojsa Popov then asked Vojislav Seselj to calm down the Serbian Chetniks, reminding him that he had also been one of those who they had once defended. Then vojvoda [Serbian word for warlord] Seselj went behind the rostrum and said: "I will speak for only five minutes and then we will leave. Every meeting by any party that does not recognize the Serbian Chetnik Movement and supports the communist regime which bans us will proceed in this way. People say that we are following the forces which were defeated in the war but I say that we were on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition and not on the side of the defeated. If you do not give us a peaceful way, we know how to use other means." After that, singing the song "From Topola the way to Ravna Gora" but only after Seselj had told the Chetniks to be quiet several times, did members of the Serbian Chetnik Movement leave the hall. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Muslim Party Founded After SDA Split

LD2509213290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Following the split in the leadership of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] from which four of its leaders have been expelled, an initiative meeting was held in Sarajevo this evening for the formation of a new Bosnian Muslim party.

Former SDA vice-chairman Adil Zulfikarpasic announced that the new party will be liberal-democratic in its orientation and will advocate personal liberties prosperity, and the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was said at the meeting of the founding assembly of the Bosnian Muslim Party [Bosnjacko Muslimanska Stranka] will be held in eight days time in Sarajevo.

Slovene Presidency Views Defense System Changes

LD2509214190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—At its enlarged session today the Presidency of the Slovene Republic

discussed the changes in the constitutional-legal and normative territorial defense establishment in Slovenia. The objective of these changes is to abolish in this area the present dichotomy of competencies between the federation and the republic and ensure the sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia.

It was stressed that in constant cooperation with all other factors in Slovenia, during recent months the Slovene Presidency has been working intensively on the formulation of the constitutional amendment and on the change to the federal laws which regulate the domain of territorial defense. In a few days time the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will be finally deciding on these proposals. It was said that in the new solutions in the territorial defense area, and also those in the domain of the armed forces, confederal solutions are being introduced with a clear indication that the command functions in the eventuality of an outside threat of war remain solely at the present federation level.

It was stressed during the session that the recent dispute between the Republic of Slovenia and appropriate federal organs on account of the transfer of territorial defense weapons into Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] stores and the later disputes and confusion involving the territorial defense commander in Slovenia (whose replacement was requested, but not carried out by appropriate federal organs) only serve as an additional indication of the need for system changes in this area, in the sense that sovereign rights of the Republic of Slovenia must be fully ensured.

Presidency President Milan Kucan stressed that this is in fact the drafting of a new defense doctrine, and recalled that in this matter there have been protracted differences and conflicts between Slovenia and the JNA.

Slovene Presidency member Ciril Ribicic stressed that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia has been preparing system changes in the territorial defense and JNA spheres, with maximum cooperation and consultation with all appropriate representatives of the Slovene Assembly, the Executive Council, and others. Although this is a delicate matter, the Presidency has hidden nothing and done nothing behind the backs of the Slovene people, said Zlobec. For this reason it would be proper, said Zlobec, to "bury" the nervous insinuations recently addressed at President Kucan and through him at the Slovene Presidency as a whole, to the effect that they are excessively irresolute in sorting out this problem.

In saying this Zlobec obviously was alluding to the recent "open letter" which Dr. Joze Pucnik, president of Demos [United Opposition] and chairman of the Slovene Social Democratic Party, sent to Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency.

Montenegro To Call Multiparty Elections by 15 Oct

LD2509175590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Titograd, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The president of the Montenegrin Assembly, Dragan Radonjic, today announced in the course of talks with representatives of 12 political parties that the first multiparty elections in this republic will be called by 15 October.

At the meeting, representatives of the Montenegrin political parties commented on the proposed elections laws, which, as envisaged, will be endorsed at the next session of the republican Assembly.